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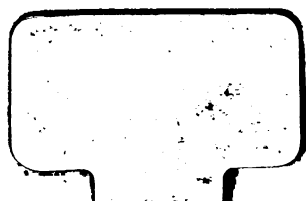
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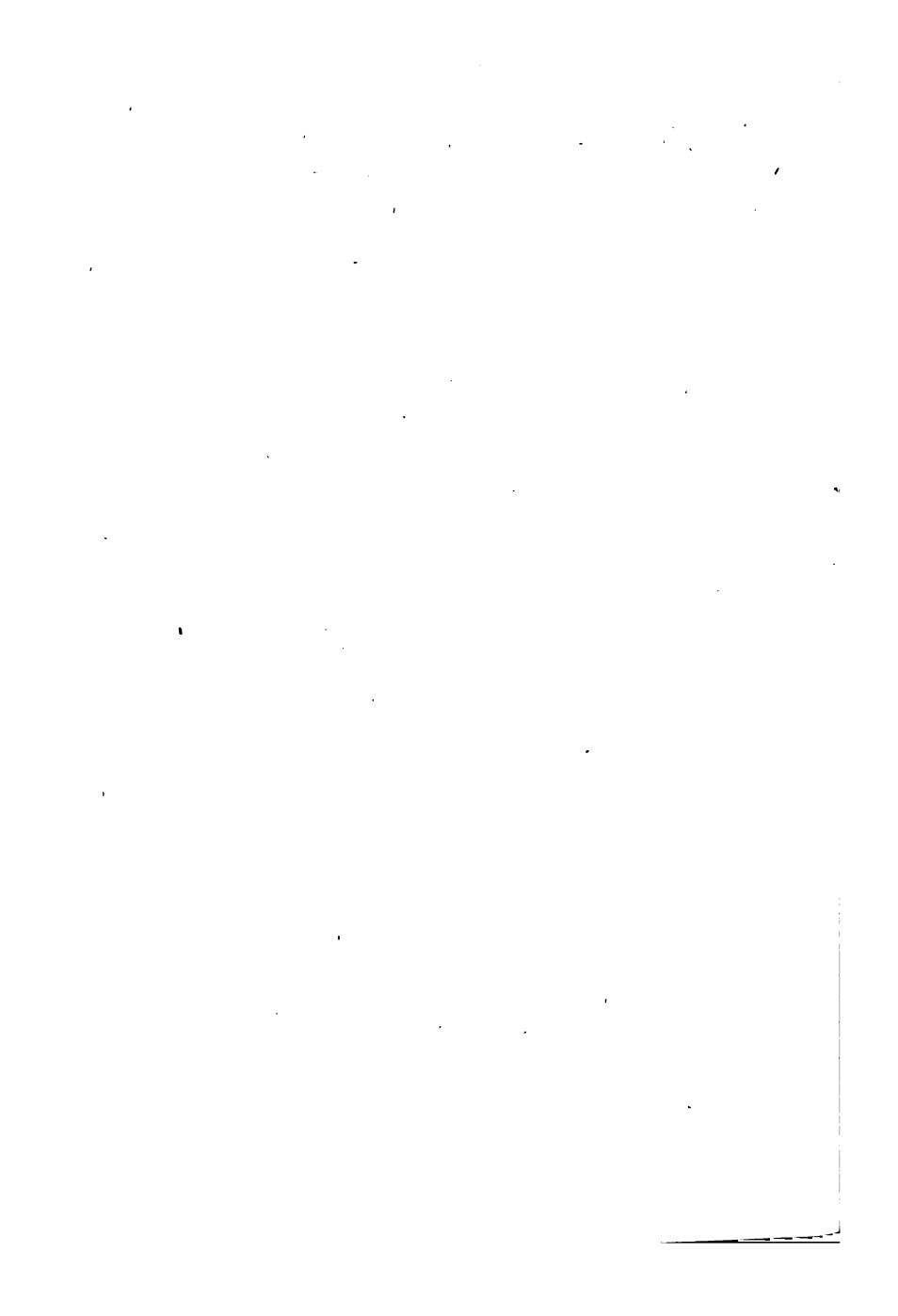
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EDITED, WITH NOTES

BY

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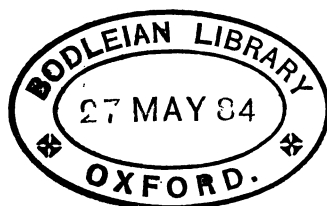
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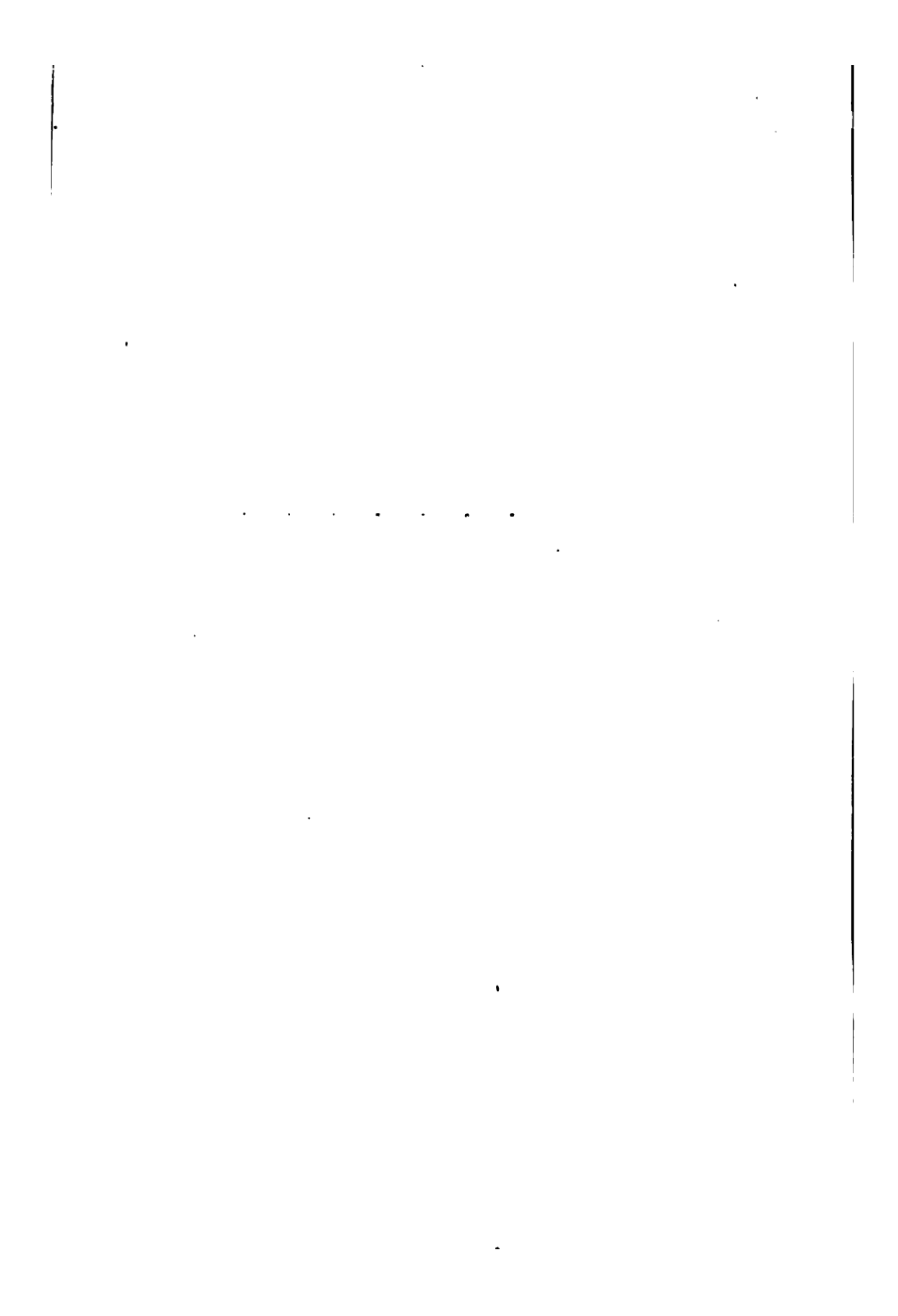
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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is, by the kind permission of Baron Tauchnitz, taken from the edition of Baiter and Kayser (Leipzig, 1874). In preparing the notes, I have consulted the editions of the *De Senectute* by Sommerbrodt and Lahmeyer, and of the *De Amicitia* by Seyffert, Nauck, and Lahmeyer. But I am especially indebted to the admirable English editions of both treatises by Mr. James S. Reid, published by the Cambridge University Press. In the few places where I have ventured to quote Mr. Reid's exact words, I have always, I think, mentioned the source from which I have borrowed them; but I take this further opportunity of acknowledging the help I have derived in almost every line of the book from his clear and exhaustive notes.

CHEADLE, MANCHESTER:
March, 1884.

INTRODUCTION.

THE treatises on Old Age and Friendship appeared in the year 44 B.C., a year marked by extraordinary literary activity on Cicero's part. The preceding year had seen the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, a sorrow which, falling upon him at a time when Caesar's supremacy shut him out from political activity, had driven him to find relief in philosophy, the study of which he took up again with that untiring energy which had characterised him through life. The assassination of Caesar for a time gave him hopes of again playing a leading part in politics; but the growing influence of Antony soon caused him to feel that the Republican constitution had received its death-blow, and drove him back to his literary work. He produced during these two years an incredible number of books, amongst others the *De Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Deorum Natura*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *De Officiis*, and several speeches, including the famous and *Philippic*. In the intervals of composing his longer ethical treatises, he wrote and dedicated to his friend Atticus these two little monographs on special points, which he was anxious to discuss in ampler detail, and in a more popular manner than was consistent with the scheme of his larger work.

The full titles of the little books, as we learn from Cicero's own letters and from passages in his other works, were *Cato major de Senectute* and *Laelius de Amicitia*.

Like the other philosophical writings of Cicero, these dialogues are confessedly mere reproductions of Greek thought for the benefit of Roman readers. It was Cicero's boast that by the use of simple and eloquent language he had placed within the grasp of every Roman those treasures of Greek philosophy, which to one unacquainted with the language of the originals had previously been accessible only in very uncouth and inadequate translations. To original speculation Cicero lays no claim:

the matter of his philosophy he takes openly from Greek sources, and has no scruple about inserting in his writings even long continuous passages translated closely from his original authorities. How far he was successful in reproducing the true spirit of the post-Aristotelian philosophy, of which he was so ardent a student, is a question open to discussion: but whatever opinion be held on that point, all must acknowledge the charm which his philosophical writings exert over us from their clear arrangement, their wealth of illustrations, and above all from the excellence of their inimitable style.

The loss of the bulk of the post-Aristotelian philosophy makes it impossible to identify the treatises upon which Cicero modelled his *Cato major* and *Laelius*. In the *Cato major* it is improbable that Cicero imitated the dialogue of *Aristo Ceius* mentioned in § 3, which was on the subject of Old Age and entitled *Tithonus*, as he only refers to it in order to condemn the selection of *Tithonus* as the principal speaker. But, though we cannot determine from what source the general outline of the book was borrowed, there are a number of passages inserted, which are direct translations from extant Greek works, and whose origin Cicero himself in most cases indicates. Thus, in §§ 6, 7, the discourse between *Laelius* and *Cato* is closely imitated from the conversation between *Socrates* and *Cephalus* at the beginning of the *Republic* of *Plato*; and from the same passage is taken the anecdote of *Sophocles*, given in § 47¹. The assertion of the simplicity and consequent indestructibility of the soul in § 78 is taken from the *Phaedo* of *Plato*², and the same section contains a sentence from the *Phaedrus*³. Besides these there are two long passages from *Xenophon*, the conversation between *Cyrus* the younger and *Lysander* in § 59, and the death-bed speech of *Cyrus* the elder in §§ 79-81. The former is a translation of *Xen. Oeconomicus* iv. §§ 20-55 (a work which Cicero translated into Latin in his youth); the latter is taken from *Xen. Cyropaedia* viii. 7. 17-24.

The *Laelius* does not contain so many passages of which we

¹ *Plato*, de *Republ.* 328, sqq.

² *Plato*, *Phaedo*, 78-80.

³ *Plato*, *Phaedrus*, 245 c.

can point to the Greek originals as the Cato major; nor yet is it easier to exactly determine what work suggested the general outline of the dialogue. Friendship, however, occupies a much more prominent position in Greek ethics than it does in modern systems, and Cicero would doubtless have a large number of writings on the subject from which to gather the materials for his essay. We have the authority of Aulus Gellius¹ for the statement that Cicero imitated in his *De Amicitia* a treatise of Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, entitled *Περὶ Φιλίας*. This treatise has perished, with the exception of a few fragments, and the only sentence of which we possess the Greek original is that of § 65: 'Quo circa dicendum est saepius, cum iudicaris, diligere oportet; non cum dilexeris, iudicare.' The original of Theophrastus is quoted by Plutarch, and will be found in the note.

Of extant Greek discourses on Friendship the most important are the VIIIth and IXth Books of the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, and the *Lysis* of Plato. It is probable that Cicero was acquainted with both these works, but it is hard to find any traces of the influence of the Nicomachean Ethics in the *De Amicitia* except detached sentences, which may possibly be only unintentional coincidences. With regard to the *Lysis* there is even less appearance of imitation, but there are just a few sentences which look like translations, e.g. § 92 'qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius commutabilis multiplex.' Cf. *Lysis* 214 c ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ φίλους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς μηδέποτε ὁμοίους μηδ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἀλλ' ἐμπλήκτους καὶ ἀσταθμήτους. But such casual points of similarity as these more probably show that the ideas had become the commonplaces of writers on ethical subjects than that Cicero had directly imitated either Plato or Aristotle.

In form these dialogues are Aristotelian rather than Platonic. The brisk interchange of question and answer that we find in Plato is absent. The subsidiary characters are mere lay-figures, and serve only to start the subject on which the principal speaker delivers what is more truly an essay than a dialogue.

¹ Noct. Att. i. 3. 10.

It remains to say a few words about the speakers in the two dialogues. The leading speaker in the *De Senectute* is the famous old Roman who gives his name to the discourse. M. Porcius Cato was born in B.C. 234 at Tusculum, of a plebeian family. He inherited a farm among the Sabine Hills not far from the country-house of M'. Curius Dentatus¹. Here his early years were spent, in agricultural toil, amidst the hardy Sabine farmers. In 214 Cato had his first experience of military life, serving as a common soldier under Fabius Maximus in Campania. Five years later he was at the siege of Tarentum under the same general; and in 207, having been appointed in the meantime tribulus militum, he fought under C. Claudius Nero at the battle of the Metaurus, where his valour and skill contributed largely to the success of the day.

In the intervals of these campaigns he employed himself in the practice of oratory, pleading regularly in the provincial law-courts, and probably also at Rome. His eloquence and integrity attracted the notice of his near neighbour the patrician Valerius Flaccus, upon whose suggestion he came to Rome and devoted himself to a political career, and who remained through all his life the firm friend and supporter of Cato. In 204 Cato was made quaestor, and unfortunately was attached to the suite of P. Scipio Africanus, who was then in Sicily, waiting to cross over into Africa. Cato's character and early training led him to attach himself to the party which had for its aim to maintain the old Roman constitution and character, and to resist the introduction of Greek manners, Greek teaching, and Greek luxury. At the head of the opposite party, the party of progress and the new culture, stood Scipio, and we cannot be surprised that Cato soon quarrelled with his chief and was allowed to return to Rome, before his year of service was concluded, full of disgust at the luxury of the general and the want of discipline among his troops.

He was elected plebeian aedile in 199, and praetor in the following year, Sardinia being allotted to him as his province. In 195 he attained to the consulship, although a *novus homo*, his

¹ De Sen. 55.

colleague being his old friend L. Valerius Flaccus. Almost his first act in his consulship was the delivery of a powerful speech against the proposal to repeal the Oppian Law, the object of which was to prevent lavish expenditure on dress and ornaments by women; but in spite of his eloquence the measure was repealed. Soon after this Cato set out to his province, Hither Spain, where he gained a triumph for the suppression of a formidable rising among the natives. For the next few years he lived in comparative retirement; but, on the breaking out of the war with Antiochus in 191, both he and Flaccus went to Greece on the staff of the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio. At the battle of Thermopylae, a well-executed manœuvre of Cato secured the victory to the Romans. This campaign closed his career as a soldier. Henceforward he devoted himself to politics, and to the end of his long life was engaged in continual struggles with the leaders of the party who were striving to introduce into Rome Greek luxury and refinement. So bitter was the contest, that we are told that Cato was prosecuted no less than fifty times, and was himself prosecutor in at least the same number of suits. Scipio Africanus and his connections were especially the objects of his most violent attacks; and at last, in 186 B.C., he succeeded in procuring the condemnation of L. Scipio Asiaticus on a charge of appropriating 3000 talents of public money. Africanus was also implicated in the matter, and was so annoyed by the result of the trial that he retired in dudgeon from Rome, and for the remainder of his life kept apart from politics.

The climax of Cato's life was reached when in 184 he was elected censor, with L. Valerius Flaccus once more his colleague. His administration of his office was so vigorous, that he was known for the rest of his life and for ever afterwards by the honorific title of Censorius. No department of his functions was neglected by him: abuses on every side were attacked by him with equal severity, and every rank of life fell alike under the stroke of his impartial lash. His censorial edict contained the most stringent regulations against extravagance, and all articles of luxury were taxed at a rate thirty times as high as

ordinary commodities. The burgess-rolls, the list of the equites, and the senate were purged with a relentless hand. One senator is said to have been degraded for kissing his wife in the presence of his daughter; and not even the powerful influence of T. Flamininus could save his brother Lucius from the punishment his misconduct in Gaul deserved¹.

Henceforward Cato was the most prominent figure in the Roman senate. For over thirty years more his marvellous activity continued, and he continued unceasingly his unavailing struggle against the march of the new ideas. We are told that very late in life he learned Greek, but his hatred of the Greek nation continued in all its former intensity. In 161 B.C. he supported the proposal to eject all Greek teachers from the city; and again in 155 B.C., when the famous embassy was sent from the Athenians to Rome, Cato, offended by the lectures of the philosopher Carneades, moved a resolution that the embassy should be civilly heard, and then requested to withdraw at once.

In 157 B.C. Cato was sent on an embassy to Carthage, and was so much impressed by the wealth and prosperity of that city, that for the rest of his life he was continually urging the Romans to a declaration of war against it. So strongly had this dread of Carthage taken hold on him, that, whenever he rose to deliver an opinion in the senate, no matter what the subject under discussion was, he always concluded with the words: '*Ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem.*'

In his domestic relations Cato was a type of the rugged virtue of the old Roman; he maintained the ancient traditions of the parental authority with an exaggerated strictness: towards his slaves he behaved with extreme harshness, punishing them ruthlessly for trivial offences, and selling them without scruple as soon as they became old and feeble. He was twice married, and had two sons, one by each wife. His eldest son, by his wife Licinia, died in 152 B.C., being at that time praetor designate. His second son was born in 154, when his father had reached the advanced age of eighty.

Cato was no less remarkable as a writer than as a soldier and

¹ De Sen. § 42.

a statesman; in fact he was the founder of the Latin Prose style. His greatest work was a history of Rome from its foundation down to his own time. This was in seven books, and bore the title of *Origines*, from the subject-matter of the first two books, which treated of the rise of Rome and other Italian communities. Besides this he wrote on Agriculture, in which he took great delight¹, on law, education, and morals, and further published a complete edition of his most famous speeches². Of all these works we only possess small fragments, with the exception of the *De Re Rustica*, a collection of maxims on husbandry which has come down to us entire.

It must be acknowledged that the portrait of Cato presented to us by Cicero in the *De Senectute* is hardly consistent with the other accounts we have of him. In two points especially is the departure from historical truth conspicuous: firstly, in Cato's relation to Greek philosophy and philosophers; secondly, in his relation to the Scipios. The bitter enemy of all that was Greek could hardly in the last few years of his life have acquired such a knowledge of Greek literature as breathes through every page of the *De Senectute*, nor could he have spoken as he is here represented as doing of that very Diogenes whom he was instrumental in driving from Rome³. Similarly, the language which he holds about the elder Scipio would hardly fall from the lips of the man who had been throughout his most active opponent.

The other two interlocutors in the *De Senectute* are P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus minor, and Gaius Laelius, who is also the chief speaker in the *De Amicitia*.

Publius Cornelius Scipio the younger was a son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna. He was born in 185 B.C., and when only seventeen fought under his father's command at Pydna, where he displayed great bravery. He was adopted by the son of the elder Africanus, who was a man of weak health and died young. According to the Roman custom he took the name of his adoptive father, with the addition of the cognomen Aemilianus which marked the gens in which he was originally born. Like the elder Scipio he was devoted to the New Greek culture, and

¹ *De Sen.* § 51.

² *De Sen.* § 38.

³ *De Sen.* § 23.

gathered around him a circle of the most distinguished men of his time, all of whom were devoted to the Hellenistic movement. But in other respects his character differed greatly from that of his grandfather by adoption. He was a pattern of severe morality, and almost as strict in his financial management as Cato himself. By birth, adoption, and marriage, he was connected with most of the leading families at Rome. His elder brother was the adopted son of Q. Fabius Maximus son of the great dictator, and he himself was married to Sempronia, sister of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. In 151 B.C. Scipio volunteered for service in Spain and gained considerable distinction as tribune militum under the command of Lucullus. On the outbreak of the 3rd Punic War he proceeded to Africa, where his exploits gained him such popularity that in 148, when he came to Rome to stand for the aedileship, he was elected consul for 147, although he was then only thirty-seven and was consequently under the legal age¹. He received Africa for his province, and acquitted himself with such success, that his command was prolonged for another year, during which he took and destroyed Carthage and brought the 3rd Punic War to an end. By these exploits he made his own the surname of Africanus which he had inherited from the conqueror of Hannibal. In 142 Scipio was censor, and in the administration of his office showed himself almost as severe as Cato, making the most stringent regulations against extravagance and luxury in all forms. In the year 134 B.C. the Roman people, disgusted by the long continuance of the war in Spain, again elected Scipio consul, though he had not declared himself as a candidate. He proceeded to Spain, where his vigorous measures enabled him to capture Numantia and bring the war to a close. While in Spain the death of his brother-in-law Tiberius Gracchus was reported to him, and Scipio, on hearing of it, is said to have quoted the line of Homer *ὡς ἀπὸλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι*. In fact from this time his attitude towards the Gracchan party was one of open hostility, and gradually lost him his popularity, which had hitherto been very great. He had fully recognised the evils which Tiberius Gracchus had attempted

¹ De Am. § 11.

to cure, and had sympathised with him at first: but he was alarmed at the outbreak of popular enthusiasm which the Gracchan proposals excited. Thus he opposed in 130 B.C. the bill of C. Papirius Carbo¹ 'de tribunis reficiendis,' which was calculated to increase the power of a democratic leader; and in 129 B.C. he made a proposal in the senate by which the agrarian law of Gracchus would have been allowed to drop. A violent scene took place between him and Carbo; and after the meeting of the senate was over, Scipio was escorted back to his home by an enormous crowd, principally made up of the Italians whose interests were threatened by the Gracchan schemes². In the morning he was found dead in his bed, and Carbo was strongly suspected of having murdered him. But Scipio's friends did not feel themselves strong enough to venture upon a prosecution, and the truth was never discovered. Cicero, however, in many passages expresses his belief in the guilt of the democratic leaders³.

Gaius Laelius was throughout his life the intimate friend and chosen companion of the younger Scipio, as his father had been the friend of the elder Africanus. He was slightly older than Scipio, having been born about 190 B.C. In 151 B.C. he was tribune of the people, and in 147 fought as an officer under Scipio at Carthage. In the assault upon the city in the following year, he displayed heroic valour, capturing the arsenal Cothon. In 145 he was praetor, and in this year as a member of the college of augurs he delivered a memorable speech against the proposal of C. Licinius Crassus⁴ for throwing open to the people the right of election to the priestly colleges. In 142, the year of Scipio's censorship, Laelius was a candidate for the consulship, but was defeated through the machinations of Q. Pompeius⁵. He was, however, in the following year elected consul for 140. After Tib. Gracchus' death, he was actively employed on the commission appointed to inquire into and punish the actions of the tribune's supporters, and like Scipio was a resolute opponent of the proposals of Carbo. The date of his death is uncertain, but it is probable that he died soon after Scipio. Laelius was by

¹ De Am. § 96.

² De Am. § 12.

³ De Am. § 41, and note.

⁴ De Am. § 96.

⁵ De Am. § 77.

far the most distinguished of the group of cultured persons whom Scipio gathered around him. His philosophical attainments were considerable, and his gentle wisdom gained him, like Cato, the cognomen of 'sapiens.' He was a firm adherent of the Stoic doctrines which he studied under Panaetius and Diogenes. He was a great patron of literature, and amongst his friends reckoned Polybius the historian, Lucilius the satirist, and Terence and Pacuvius the dramatists. Laelius' own style was so excellent that he was commonly said to have written the comedies which were published under Terence's name.

Q. Mucius Scaevola belonged to a family of lawyers, and was himself famous as one of the most distinguished jurisconsults of the day. He was born about 157 and lived till 88 B.C. Cicero was his pupil from 91 till his death. He was praetor 121 and consul 117 B.C. After his praetorship he was prosecuted for 'repetundae,' but was acquitted. He was noted for the sweetness and affability of his manners. Cicero introduces him as a speaker also in the *De Oratore* and the *De Republica*.

Gaius Fannius was the elder of the two sons-in-law of Laelius¹. Little is known of him, but Cicero mentions him as the author of a history of some merit². He seems at one time not to have been on good terms with his father-in-law. He served with distinction under Scipio in the 3rd Punic War, and with Tib. Gracchus was the first to mount the walls of the city in the assault. He is with Scipio, Laelius, and Scaevola an interlocutor in the *De Republica*.

The scene of the *De Senectute* is Cato's house, and the supposed date of the dialogue 150 B.C., the year before Cato's death: the dialogue *De Amicitia* takes place in Laelius' house, and its supposed date is 129 B.C., the year of Scipio's death.

¹ *De Am.* § 32.

² *Brut.* 26, &c.

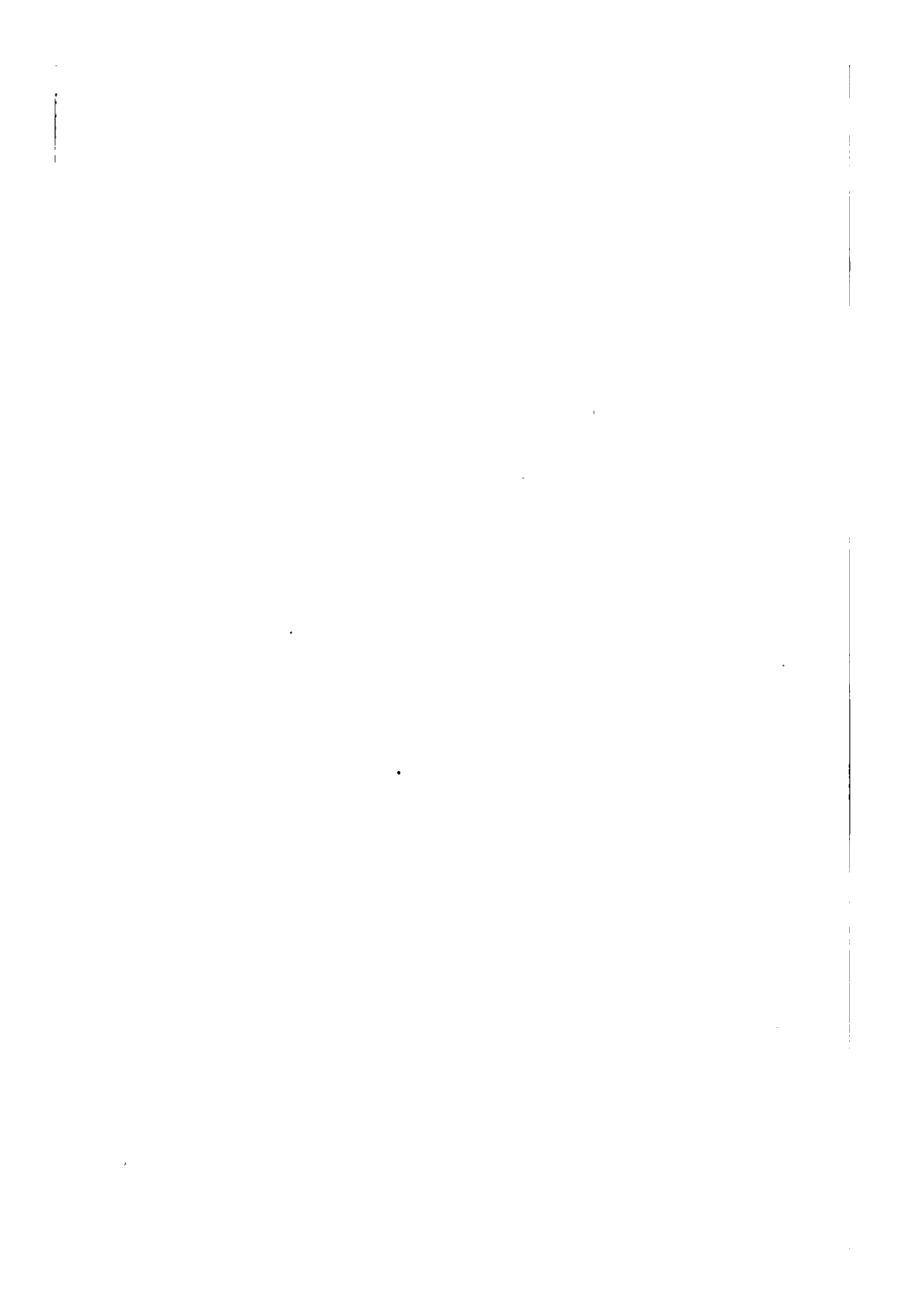
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- B.C.
- 234. Cato born.
 - 214. Cato fights under Fabius before Casilinum.
 - 209. Cato with Fabius at Tarentum.
 - 207. Battle of the Metaurus. Cato tribunus militum under C. Claudius Nero.
 - 204. Cato, as quaestor, accompanies P. Scipio into Sicily and Africa.
 - 199. Cato plebeian aedile.
 - 198. Cato praetor in Sardinia.
 - 195. Cato consul with L. Valerius Flaccus.
 - 194. Cato triumphs for his victories in Spain.
 - 191. Cato and Flaccus accompany M'. Acilius Glabrio to Greece. Cato distinguishes himself at the battle of Thermopylae.
 - 186. Laelius born.
 - 185. Scipio Africanus minor born. Death of Africanus major.
 - 184. Cato censor with Valerius Flaccus.
 - 169. Cato speaks in favour of the lex Voconia.
 - 168. Scipio fights bravely under his father, Aemilius, at Pydna.
 - 157. Cato goes as ambassador to Carthage.
 - 155. The philosophers Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus in Rome as ambassadors from Athens.
 - 154. Birth of Cato's younger son, M. Porcius Cato Salonianus.
 - 152. Death of Cato's elder son, M. Porcius Cato Licinianus, praetor designate.
 - 150. Supposed date of the dialogue 'De Senectute.'
 - 149. Death of Cato.
 - 147. Scipio elected consul before the legal age. Laelius accompanies him into Africa.
 - 146. Scipio takes and destroys Carthage. Laelius shows marked bravery in the assault.
 - 145. Laelius as praetor speaks against the law of C. Licinius Crassus 'de Sacerdotiis.' Afterwards takes the command in Spain against Viriathus.

B.C.

- 142. Scipio censor. Laelius stands unsuccessfully for the consulship.
- 140. Laelius consul.
- 134. Scipio elected consul a second time.
- 133. Capture of Numantia. Death of Tib. Gracchus.
- 130. Scipio and Laelius oppose the law of C. Papirius Carbo, 'de tribunis reficiendis.'
- 129. Death of Scipio. Supposed date of the dialogue 'De Amicitia.'
- 128. Death of Laelius.
- 106. Birth of Cicero.
- 91. Cicero assumes the 'toga virilis.'
- 79. Cicero goes to Athens to study philosophy and rhetoric.
- 75. Cicero quaestor in Sicily.
- 70. Prosecution of C. Verres.
- 69. Cicero aedile.
- 66. Cicero praetor.
- 63. Cicero consul. Overthrow of the Catilinarian conspiracy.
- 58. Cicero goes into exile.
- 57. Cicero recalled to Rome.
- 53. Cicero elected augur in the place of P. Crassus, son of the triumvir.
- 51. Cicero proconsul in Cilicia.
- 49. Cicero returns to Rome. Afterwards crosses into Greece and joins Pompeius.
- 48. Battle of Pharsalia.
- 47. Reconciliation of Cicero and Caesar.
- 45. Cicero divorces Terentia and marries Publilia, whom he soon afterwards divorces. Death of Tullia.
- 44. Assassination of C. Julius Caesar. Cicero produces a large number of philosophical works, amongst them the 'De Senectute' and 'De Amicitia.'
- 43. Death of Cicero.

M. TULLII CICERONIS
CATO MAIOR
DE SENECTUTE
AD T. POMPONIIUM ATTICUM.



M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE SENECTUTE.

- 1 1. 'O Tite, si quid te adiuro curamve levasso,
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemi?'

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus
adfatur Flaminium

5

'Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei:'

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flaminium,

'Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctisque diesque;'

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem teque non
cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et
prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus
quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum
consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc
autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.

- 2 Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam
urguentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum
levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut
omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio: sed mihi, cum de
senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo
munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi
quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo
omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem

etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari
satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus
aetatis sine molestia possit degere. Sed de ceteris et diximus
multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de senectute
5 misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono,
ut Aristo Ceus—parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula—
sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet
oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis,
quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respond-
10 entem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit
ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat
eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est
plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram
omnem de senectute sententiam.

- 15 2. *Scipio*. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. 4
Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato,
perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod numquam
tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque seni-
bus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.
- 20 *Cato*. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Laeli, difficilem admirari
videmini: quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene
beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem
omnia bona a se ipsis petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri,
quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in
25 primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem
accusant adepti: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque per-
versitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent.
Primum quis coëgit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius
adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepat?
30 Deinde qui minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum
annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim
aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio per-
mulcere posset stultam senectutem. Quocirca si sapientiam 5

meam admirari soletis,—quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!—in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optumam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus, a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab 5 inertī poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et, tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti: quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare? 10

6 *Laelius.* Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, 15 ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

7 3. *Cato.* Faciam, ut potero, Laeli: saepe enim interfui 20 querellis aequalium meorum—pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur—quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis, 25 a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non 30 moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate; moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolera-

bilem senectutem agunt, inopportunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

Laelius. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quis-
piam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam
5 tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis
contingere.

Cato. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in
isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in
iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae
10 gloria splendorem adsecutum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit 'si ego
Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam
fuisses.' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest: nec
enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti
quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis.
15 Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis 9
artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae,
cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non
solum, quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore
aetatis—quamquam id quidem maximum est—verum etiam
20 quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum
recordatio iucundissima est.

4. Ego Quintum Maximum [eum qui Tarentum recepit] 10
senem adulescens ita dilexi ut aequalem; erat enim in illo
viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat:
25 quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu,
sed tamen iam aetate provectum; anno enim post consul
primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum
consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum
quintoque anno post ad Tarentum; quaestor deinde quad-
30 riennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus
Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex
suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et
bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et

Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua mollebat ;
de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius :

‘Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem ;
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem :
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.’

5

- 11 Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit ! cum
quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in
arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti ‘Mea opera, Quinte Fabi,
Tarentum recepisti,’ ‘Certe,’ inquit ridens ‘nam, nisi tu
amisisses, numquam recepissem.’ Nec vero in armis prae-
stantior quam in toga ; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega
quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno pl. quoad potuit restitit
agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctori-
tatem dividenti ; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est
optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gere-
rentur ; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia
12 ferri. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admira-
bilius quam quo modo ille mortem filii tulit, clari viri et
consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus,
quem philosophum non contemnimus ? nec vero ille in luce
modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique
praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta ! quanta notitia
antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii ! Multae etiam, ut in
homine Romano, litterae : omnia memoria tenebat, non
domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone
13 5. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo ? Quia
profecto videtis nefas esse dictu, miseram fuisse talem
senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut 30
Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisque
pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur : est
etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac

lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius
 5 magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem conplevit annos neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit; qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'Nihil habeo' inquit 'quod accusem senectutem:' praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia in-
 10 sipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

'Sic ut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
 Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.'

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem
 15 quidem probe meminisse potestis: anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem.
 20 Annos septuaginta natus—tot enim vixit Ennius—ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

Etenim, cum conplector animo, quattuor reperio causas
 25 cur senectus misera videatur: unam quod avocet a rebus gerendis, alteram quod corpus faciat infirmius, tertiam quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus, quartam quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

6. 'A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit.' Quibus? an iis,
 30 quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, filii mei? ceteri senes, Fabricii,

Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate
 16 defendebant, nihil agebant? Ad Appii Claudii senectutem
 accedebat etiam ut caecus esset: tamen is, cum sententia
 senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum,
 non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est 5
 Ennius,

‘Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
 Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?’

ceteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est; etiam
 ipsius Appii exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo 10
 decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos
 consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superi-
 orem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur, Pyrrhi bello
 grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.
 17 Nihil igitur adferunt, qui in re gerunda versari senectutem 15
 negant, [similesque sunt] ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando
 nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros
 cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus
 sedeat in puppi: non facit ea, quae iuvenes, at vero maiora
 et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate 20
 corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate,
 sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri
 18 senectus solet: nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus
 et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum,
 cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero; at senatui quae 25
 sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo: Karthagini male iam
 diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non
 19 ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero; quam
 palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi
 reliquias persequere! cuius a morte sextus hic et tricesimus 30
 annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni
 consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem
 annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule

creatus esset : num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia : quae nisi essent in senibus, non
 5 summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii, qui amplissimum magi- 20 stratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas
 10 reperietis.

‘Cedo, qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?’

sic enim percontantur, ut est in Naevii poëtae Ludo : respondentur et alia et hoc in primis :

‘Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.’

15 **Temeritas** est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

7. ‘At memoria minuitur.’ Credo, nisi eam exerceas aut 21 etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina : num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum
 20 patres etiam et avos; nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audiavi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset : omnia quae
 25 curant meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. Quid iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, 22 quid philosophi senes? quam multo meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata
 30 et queta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit : quod propter studium cum rem negligere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum

nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices: tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque, num illud carmen desipientis vide-
 23 retur; quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem
 10 aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum coëgit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? an in omnibus
 24 his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus 15 numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere : 20

Serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,'

25 ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti, cui serat, respondere: 'Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.' 25

8. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem :

'Edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
 Adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est,
 Quod diu vivendo multa quae non volt videt.'

30

Et multa fortasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe

etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

‘Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserimum,
Sentire ea aetate ipsum esse odiosum alteri.’

5 Iucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescentibus 26
bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque
fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic
adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum
studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi
10 vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo
languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et
semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuius-
que studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid? qui etiam addiscunt
aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus,
15 qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego
feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avidè
adripui quasi diurnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa
mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis; quod
cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem
20 etiam illud—discebant enim fidibus antiqui—, sed in litteris
certe elaboravi.

9. Nec nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis—is enim 27
erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis—non plus, quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam: quod est, eo decet
25 uti et quicquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox
potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui cum
iam senex esset athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret,
aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur inlacrimansque dixisse: ‘At hi
quidem mortui iam sunt.’ Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse,
30 nugator! Neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex
lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis
annis ante Ti. Coruncaniam, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus
iura civibus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum

28 spiritum est provecta prudentia. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium: omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est 5 decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam disertis senis composita et mitis oratio; quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata 29 studiis iuventutis? An ne eas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adolescentis doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, 15 quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint: etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adolescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adolescentia 30 effetum corpus tradit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum 20 senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam inbecilliores factam quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui, cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore 25 aetatis, ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

31 10. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim iam aetatem hominum vivebat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax; etenim, ut ait Homerus, 'ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio,' quam

ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Aiakis similis habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura. Sed redeo ad me: quantum ago annum 32
5 et octogesimum; vellem equidem idem possem gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas
10 M'. Glabrone consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus; non curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet, mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex
15 esse: ego vero me minus diu senem esse malletm quam esse senem ante quam essem; itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus. At minus habeo virium quam 33
vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo
20 virium adsit et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur: ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem: utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit;
25 cum absit, ne requiras, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaeque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam con-
30 stantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. Audire te arbitror, 34
Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum

omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris. 5

35 11. Ne sint in senectute vires: ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis, quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri; itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. 'At multi ita sunt inbecilli senes, 10 ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint.' At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit inbecillus P. Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstisset lumen civitatis; 15 ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra 20 36 morbum sic contra senectutem; habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini 25 oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute: et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescent, animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hoc significat, credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae 30 senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari

solet, senum levium est, non omnium. Quattuor robustos 37
filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius
regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tam-
quam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senec-
5 tuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium
in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes
habebant; vigeat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina.
Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum 38
retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum
10 dominatur in suos. Ut enim adolescentem, in quo est senile
aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adolescentis, probō:
quod qui sequitur corpore senex esse poterit, animo num-
quam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus;
omnia antiquitatis monumenta conligo; causarum inlustrium,
15 quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes;
ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto; multum etiam
Graecis litteris utor Pythagoreorumque more exercendae
memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim,
commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec
20 curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis
viris non magno opere desidero: adsum amicis, venio in
senatum frequens ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogita-
tas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus; quas si exsequi
nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogi-
25 tantem, quae iam agere non possem, sed ut possim facit acta
vita; semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non
intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu
aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate ex-
stinguitur.

30 12. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere 39
dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem
id aufert a nobis, quod est in adolescentia vitiosissimum!
Accipite enim, optimi adolescentes, veterem orationem Archy-

tae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est, cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius [voluptatis] avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur; hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis inelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem; nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset; quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, si quidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingeret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

Quorsum haec? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Inpedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum

cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem: ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in
5 convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est: mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperii
10 dedecus.

13. Saepe audiavi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a 43 senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cineas esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur,
15 eumque dicere omnia, quae faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda; quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quin-
20 quennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius: qui cum ex sua vita tum ex eius quem dico Decii facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur quodque spreta et con-
25 tempta voluptate optimum quisque sequeretur. Quorsum 44 igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis: caret ergo etiam
30 vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus—divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces—, quamquam

inmoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen convivii delectari potest. C. Duellium, Marci filium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat 5
 45 gloria. Sed quid ego alios? Ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis; sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis: epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies 10
 mitiora; neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum con- 15
 potationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

46 14. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque convivii delector nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque 20
 vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu 25
 senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis per- 30
 sequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie conpleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone
 47 producimus. 'At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in

senibus.' Credo, sed ne desideratur quidem; nihil autem
est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum
ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus
veneriis, 'Di meliora!' inquit 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino
5 agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium
odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et ex-
pletis iucundius est carere quam frui: quamquam non caret
is, qui non desiderat; ergo non desiderare dico esse iucun-
dus. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur 48
10 libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde
iis, quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino
caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima
cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic
adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laeta-
15 tur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tan-
tum, quantum sat est. At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam 49
emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimi-
citarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dici-
tur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii
20 atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Vide-
bamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Galum,
familiarem patris tui, Scipio: quotiens illum lux noctu ali-
quid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum
mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et
25 lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! Quid in levioribus studiis, 50
sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Nae-
vius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudulo! Vidi etiam
senem Livium, qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum
fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque
30 ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licinii
Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius
P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus
est? Atqui eos omnis, quos commemoravi, his studiis fla-

grantis senes vidimus; M. vero Cethegum, quem recte Suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae, quae quidem 5 prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

51 15. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego 10 incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla inpediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec cuiquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore: quamquam 15 me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat; quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen exceptit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex 20 eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo 52 aristarum. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa com- 25 memorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque 30 procreet: malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines nonne efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad

terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur. Itaque 53
5 ineunte vere in iis, quae relictæ sunt, existit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis
10 defendit ardores: qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, ali-
15 orum inmissio. Quid ego inrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem 54
de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet; at Homerus, qui
20 multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum
25 omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

16. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed ea ipsa, quae dixi, sentio fuisse longiora: ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus
30 sum et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis: cuius quidem ego villam con-

templans—abest enim non longe a me—admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis, qui haberent aurum, imperare: poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam: in agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt: num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus; semper enim boni adsiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est villaque tota locuples est; abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle; iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus: ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi

clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multos talos relinquunt et tesseras; id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest.

17. Multas ad res peritiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos 59
5 legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur. Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum
10 regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse; cum autem
15 admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius, a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta, et Cyrum
20 respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse: 'Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum
25 ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.' Hac 60
igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas inpedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum
30 esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt: ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque

huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senectutis
 61 auctoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: 'Unum hunc plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primum fuisse virum.'⁵ Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo?¹⁰ quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

62 18. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem¹⁵ laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit; ex quo efficitur id, quod ego magno quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem, quae se oratione defenderet: non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctori-
 63 tatis extremos. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, ad-
 surgere, deduci, reduci, consuli: quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci²⁵ mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consensu locum nus-
 quam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse;

quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, 64
dixisse ex iis quendam, Atheniensis scire quae recta essent,
sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed
hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate ante-
cedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore
antecedentibus, sed iis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores
natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates
corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus
qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis per-
egisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu
conruisse.

‘At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes.’ 65
Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non
senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi,
15 habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed
quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici,
inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est.
Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus,
idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex iis fratribus,
20 qui in Adelphis sunt: quanta in altero diritas, in altero
comitas! sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic
non omnis aetas matura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in
senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam; acerbitatem
nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intel- 66
25 lego; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae
minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

19. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sol-
licitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio
mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O
30 miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam
longa aetate non viderit! Quae aut plane neglegenda est,
si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo
eum deducit, ubi sit futurus aeternus: atqui tertium certe

67 nihil inveniri potest. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser
post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam
quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit exploratum
se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo
pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos 5
incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur.
Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret,
melius et prudentius viveretur: mens enim et ratio et con-
siliū in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino
civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem inpendentem. 10
Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum
68 adolescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu
in expectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio,
mortem omni aetati esse communem. 'At sperat adolescens
diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest.' In- 15
sipienter sperat; quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis
habere, falsa pro veris? 'At senex ne quod speret quidem
habet.' At est eo meliore condicione quam adolescens, cum
id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est: ille volt diu vivere,
69 hic diu vixit. Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis 20
vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus, expectemus Tar-
tessorum regis aetatem; fuit enim, ut scriptum video,
Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat
annos, centum viginti vixerat; sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem
quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum: cum enim 25
id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum re-
manet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae
quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum
tempus umquam revertitur nec quid sequatur sciri potest:
quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse 30
70 contentus; neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda
fabula est, modo in quocumque fuerit actu probetur, neque
sapienti usque ad 'plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim

tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum : sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse; ver enim tamquam adolescentiam
5 significat ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum
71 bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis; quid est autem tam
10 secundum naturam quam senibus emori? Quod idem contingit adolescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adolescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua
sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et
15 quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse ven-
20 turus.

20. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque
72 in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis [mortemque contemnere]; ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adolescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisis-
25 trato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur 'senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae
coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem
30 destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur: ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa

73 deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis est elegium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis, sed haud scio an melius Ennius : 5

‘Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit. *Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.*’

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas con-
74 sequatur. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem 10 sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest; moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die: mortem igitur omnibus horis independentem timens qui poterit animo con- 15
75 sistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non 20 duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte eluit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod 25 scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes et ii quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 30
76 Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur?

Sunt etiam eius aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute; sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis. Ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis: quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum
5 mortis adfert.

21. Non enim video cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non 77
audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tu, Scipio, tuque, Laeli, viros clarissimos mihiq̄ue amicissimos, vivere
10 arbitror et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda: nam, dum sumus inclusi in his conpagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternit̄ique
15 contrarium. Sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio inpulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythago- 78
reosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus; demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immorta-
25 litate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes [tantāe scientiae], tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae
30 res eas contineat, esse mortalem; cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset neque

haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non possit, non posse interire, magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis adripiant, ut eas non tum primum 5 accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari.

79 22. Haec Platonis fere. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, o mei carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore; nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed 10 eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus, quas gerebam, intellegebatis: eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum 80 videbitis. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem persuaderi 15 numquam potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed, cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum homi- 20 nis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt: animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discedit adparet. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam 81 simile quam somnum; atqui dormientium animi maxime 25 declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt: ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote,' inquit 'ut deum: sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos 30 verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tumentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

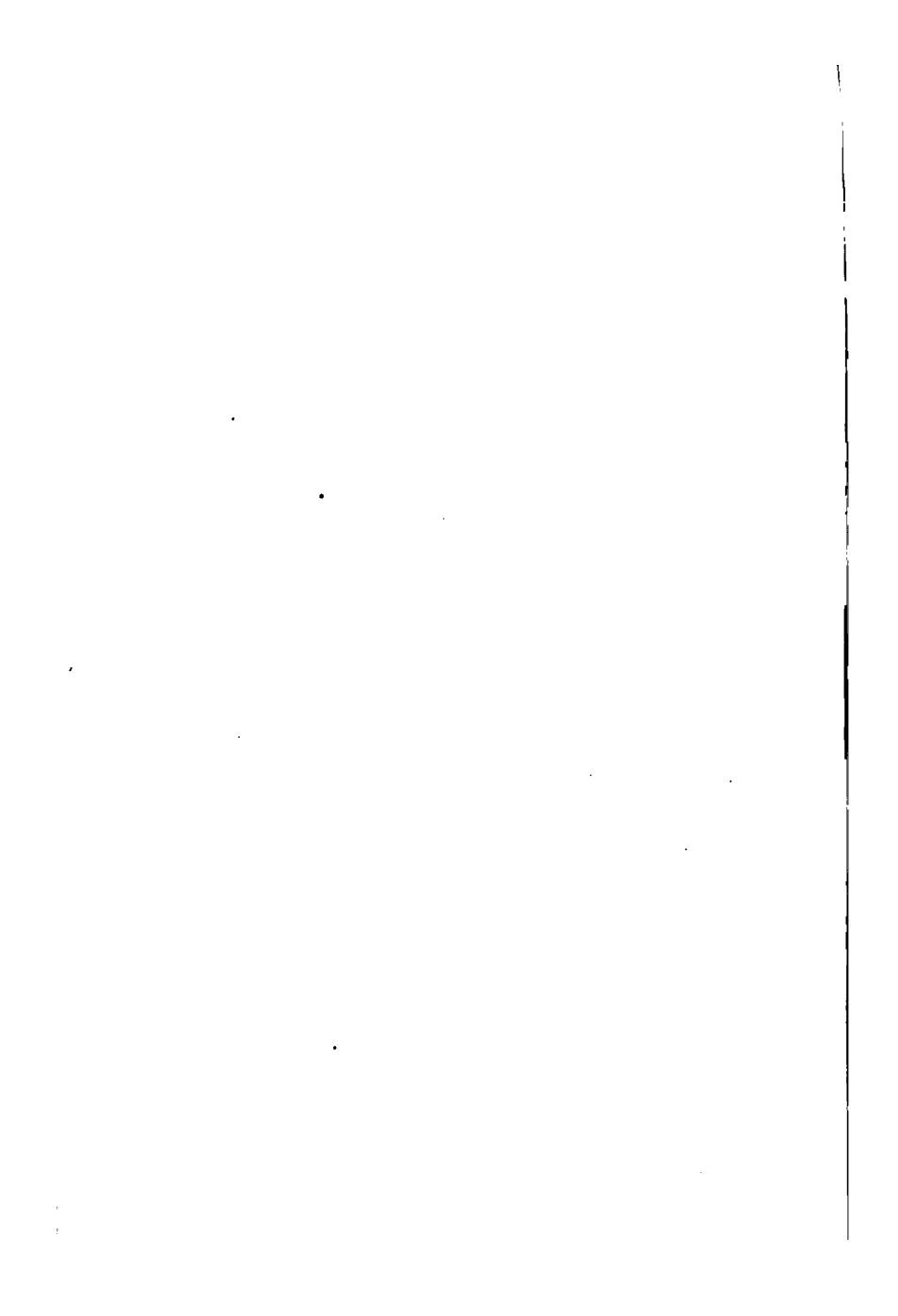
82 23. Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra

videamus : nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patrum aut multos praestantis viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus ? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere ? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset ; quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatis gloriam niteretur. Quid ? quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cui obtusior sit acies, non videre ? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi, neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audiavi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit ; et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. Quid enim habet vita commodi ? Quid non potius laboris ? Sed habeat sane, habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existumem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo ; commorandi enim natura

devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus 5 est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum—quod contra decuit ab illo meum—, animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum: quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, 10 sed me ipse consolabar existumans non longinquum inter 85 nos digressum et discessum fore. His mihi rebus, Scipio,—id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti—levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, 15 libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui inrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est: nam habet 20 natura ut aliarum rerum omnium, sic vivendi modum; senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniat, ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare 25 possitis.

M. TULLII CICERONIS
LAELIUS
DE AMICITIA
AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.



M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE AMICITIA.

1 1. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero suo
memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni ser-
mone appellare sapientem; ego autem a patre ita eram de-
ductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et
liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem. Itaque multa ab 5
eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode
dicta memoriae mandabam fierique studebam eius prudentia
doctior; quo mortuo me ad pontificem Scaevolam contuli,
quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestan-
tissimum audeo dicere; sed de hoc alias, nunc redeo ad 10
2 augurem. Cum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemi-
cyclo sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem una et pauci
admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui
tum fere multis erat in ore: meministi enim profecto, Attice,
et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, cum is 15
tribunus pl. capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul,
dissideret, quocum 'coniunctissime et amantissime vixerat,
3 quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel querella. Itaque
tum Scaevola, cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset,
exposuit nobis sermonem Laelii de amicitia habitum ab illo 20
secum et cum altero genero, C. Fannio, Marci filio, paucis
diebus post mortem Africani. Eius disputationis sententias
memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitrato meo:

quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentis ne 'inquam' et 'inquit' saepius interponeretur atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur. Cum enim saepe mecum 4 ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum 5 omnium cognitione tum nostra familiaritate visa est; itaque feci non invitus ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone Maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et 10 diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros flourisset, sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laelii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laelii persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa disse- reret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus 15 autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctori- tate et eorum inlustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis; itaque ipse mea legens sic adficio inter dum, ut Catonem, non me loqui existimem. Sed ut tum ad senem 5 senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus 20 scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Laelius et sapiens—sic enim est habitus—et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. 25 Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani; ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipsum cognosces.

2. *Fannius.* Sunt ista, Laeli; nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior: sed existimare debes omnium 30 oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem, sed uterque alio quodam modo: Acilius, quia prudens esse in

iure civili putabatur, Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat: multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisae prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur; propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis.

7 Te autem alio quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, 5
verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliqua Graecia neminem—nam qui septem appellantur, eos qui ista subtilius quaerunt in numero sapientium non habent—, Athenis unum accepimus et eum quidem etiam Apollinis 10
oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum: hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Bruti 15
auguris commentandi causa, ut adsolet, venissemus, tu non adfuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

8 *Scaevola.* Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum adverti, te 20
dolorem, quem acceperis cum summi viri tum amicissimi morte, ferre moderate, nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non adfuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse. 25

Laelius. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere: nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi, cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti 30
9 homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego 30
nec adgnosco nec postulo, facis amice, sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone: aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo,

ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! Memineram Paulum, videram Galum, sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem 10 ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit: huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque loquar, sic habetote.

3. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam viderint sapientes, sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitrator, nemo umquam 10 erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit; sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo, quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, 15 sed se ipsum amantis est. Cum illo vero quis neget actum 11 esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute 20 superavit; qui consulatum petivit numquam, factus [consul] est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero; qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillumis, de pietate in 25 matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnis? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante quam est 30 mortuus mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. Quam ob rem 12 vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere, moriundi autem sensum celeritas abstulit: quo de

genere mortis difficile dictu est, quid homines suspicentur videtis. Hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

- 13 4. Neque enim adsentior iis, qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque 10 omnia morte deleri: plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrantur, vel eorum, qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum 15 florebat, institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt, vel eius, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, cui non tum hoc, tum illud, uti plerisque, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos iisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere optumoque et iustissimo cuique 20
- 14 expeditissimum. Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adessent et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica, cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate 25 animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat: id si ita est, ut optumi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemur cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis 30 quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali; sensu enim amisso fit

idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur. Quam 15 ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optume est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introi-
5 eram, sic prius exire de vita; sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et id, in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sen-
10 tentiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria
15 amicorum, quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laelii amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

Fannius. Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed, quo- 16 niam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris—spero item Scaevolae—, si, quem ad modum
20 soles de ceteris rebus, cum ex te quaeritur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existumes, quae praecepta des.

Scaevola. Mihi vero, atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevortit: quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

25 5. *Laelius.* Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse con-17 fiderem; nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum aut quae est in me facultas? Doctorum est ista consuetudo eaque Graecorum, ut iis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito: magnum opus
30 est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quam ob rem quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur: ego vos hortari tantum possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam

naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel
18 adversas. Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam
esse non posse: neque id ad vivum resco, ut illi, qui haec
subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem
parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi 5
sapientem. Sit ita sane: sed eam sapientiam interpretantur,
quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus, nos autem ea,
quae sunt in usu vitaeque communi, non ea, quae finguntur
aut optantur, spectare debemus. Numquam ego dicam C.
Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientis 10
nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapi-
entis; qua re sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et
obscurum, concedant ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem
19 facient: negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. Agamus
igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva: qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, 15
ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec
sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna con-
stantia, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos,
ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur,
quantum homines possunt, naturam optumam bene vivendi 20
ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos,
ut inter omnis esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut
quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam
peregrini, propinqui quam alieni: cum his enim amicitiam
natura ipsa peperit, sed ea non satis habet firmitatis; namque 25
hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate
benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata
enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis
20 manet. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit, ex hoc intellegi
maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, 30
quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta
in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos
iungeretur.

6. Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio: qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii prae-
5 ponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates: beluarum hoc quidem extremum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate; qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed haec ipsa
10 virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. Iam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae 21 sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones,
15 Philos: his communis vita contenta est, eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Talis igitur inter viros 22 amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse 'vita vitalis,' ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit? Quid dulcius
20 quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportunaes sunt singulae rebus
25 fere singulis, divitiae, ut utare, opes, ut colare, honores, ut laudare, voluptates, ut gaudeas, valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris praesto est, nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam molesta est; itaque non aqua,
30 non igni, ut aiunt, locis pluribus utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit; nam et secundas

res splendidiore facit amicitia et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

- 23 7. Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus, quod bonam spem praeclucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur; verum etiam amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et inbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictum est, mortui vivunt: tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum; ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, 10 horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque ex discordiis perspicui potest: quae enim 15 domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo quantum boni sit in amicitia iudicari potest. Agrigentinum quidem 24 doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent 20 quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam; atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intellegunt et re probant. Itaque, si quando aliquod officium existit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota 25 cavea nuper in hospitibus et amici mei M. Pacuvii nova fabula! cum, ignorante rege uter Orestes *esset*, *Pylades* Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile in- 30 dicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero iudicarent. Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem, potuisse dicere: si

qua praeterea sunt—credo autem esse multa—, ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

Fann. Nos vero a te potius: quamquam etiam ab istis 25 saepe quaesivi et audiui non invitus equidem, sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

Scaev. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses: qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Philii!

10 *Fann.* Facile id quidem fuit iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

Scaev. Quid amicitiam? nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

15 8. *Lael.* Vim hoc quidem est adferre: quid enim refert 26 qua me ratione cogatis? cogitis certe; studiis enim generum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est tum ne aequum quidem obsistere. Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter 20 inbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa: amor enim, ex quo 25 amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam; nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa; in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum, et, quicquid est, id est verum et voluntarium. Qua- 27 30 propter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, adplicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit etiam in bestiis quibusdam animad-

verti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus adpareat: quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate, quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest, deinde cum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si alium quem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis adliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est qui C. Fabricii, M'. Curii non cum caritate aliqua benevola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit? Quis autem est qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale: ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

29 9. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo; quam si qui putant ab inbecillitate proficisci, ut sit per quem adsequatur quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt: quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus, quod longe secus est. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit et ut quisque maxime

virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitiiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? minime hercule! ac ne ego quidem illius: sed
5 ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione fortasse non nulla, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae; ut enim benefici
10 liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam—neque enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus—, sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia re-
15 ferunt, longe dissentiunt, nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnis cogitationes abiecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi autem intellegamus natura gigni sensum
20 diligendi et benevolentiae caritatem facta significatione prohibitatis: quam qui adpetiverunt, adplicant se et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus; suntque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec
25 inter eos est honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur et erit eius ortus a natura quam ab inbecillitate gravior et verior; nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret, sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum
30 quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte voltis.

Fann. Tu vero perge, Laeli; pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

Scaev. Recte tu quidem: quam ob rem audiamus.

10. *Lael.* Audite vero, optumi viri, ea, quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur: quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae diem permanere; nam vel ut non idem expediret incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiret; mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga 34 ponerentur; sin autem ad adulescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae condicionis vel commodi alicuius, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiae quam in plerisque pecuniae 15 cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae, ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos 35 exstitisse. Magna etiam discidia et plerumque iusta nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis, quod rectum non esset, postularetur, ut aut libidinis ministri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam, quod 20 qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab iis, quibus obsequi nollent; illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos; eorum querella inveterata non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, 25 sed odia etiam gigni sempiterna: haec ita multa quasi fata impendere amicitiae, ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

36 11. Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Corio-30 lanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? num Viscellinum amici regnum ad-37 petentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare? Tiberium quidem

Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum
5 venisset, hanc ut sibi ignoscerem causam adferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset, ut quicquid ille vellet sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego 'Etiamne,' inquam 'si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?' 'Numquam' inquit 'voluisset id quidem, sed, si voluisset, paruissem.' Videtis quam nefaria
10 vox! Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia quaestione nova perterritus in Asiam profugit, ad hostis se contulit, poenas rei publicae gravis iustasque per-
15 solvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. Quod si rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis quicquid
20 velint vel impetrare ab iis quicquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res vitii, sed loquimur de iis amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita communis: ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxume accedunt. Videmus
25 Aemilium Luscino familiarem fuisse—sic a patribus accepimus—, bis una consules, collegas in censura; tum et cum iis et inter se coniunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est: igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quippiam contendisse,
30 quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse? cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aequae autem nefas sit tale aliquid et

facere rogatum et rogare. At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tum quidem Gaius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

- 40 12. Haec igitur lex in amicitia sancitur, ut neque rogemus res turpis nec faciamus rogati; turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae: deflexit iam ali-
- 41 quantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. Ti. 10 Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses: num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quocumque modo potuimus, 15 propter recentem poenam Ti. Gracchi sustinuimus; de C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid exspectem non lubet augurari: serpit deinde res, quae proclivius ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Videtis in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia: videre 20 iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi; plures enim discent, quem ad modum haec
- 42 fiant, quam quem ad modum his resistatur. Quorsum haec? quia sine sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis ut, si in eius modi amicitias ignari casu ali- 25 quo inciderint, ne existiment ita se adligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re peccantibus non discedant, inprobis autem poena statuenda est, nec vero minor iis, qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis, qui ipsi fuerint inpietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle? quis potentior? qui cum 30 imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberavisset propterque invidiam in exilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit: fecit idem quod viginti

annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inventus est nemo; itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. Qua re talis inproborum consensio non modo⁴³ excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio⁵ omni vindicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi: quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit; mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res publica post mortem meam futura, quam qualis hodie sit.

- 10 13. Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sancitur, ut ab amicis⁴⁴ honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus, ne expectemus quidem, dum rogemur, studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit, consilium vero dare audeamus libere. Plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas,¹⁵ eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. Nam⁴⁵ quibusdam, quos audio sapientis habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam—sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis—: partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias,²⁰ ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas cum velis vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem,²⁵ qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius⁴⁶ —quem locum breviter paulo ante perstrinxi—praesidii adiumentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis, amicitias esse expetendas; itaque, ut quisque minimum firmitatis³⁰ haberet minimumque virium, ita amicitias adpetere maxime: ex eo fieri ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quae- rant quam viri et inopes quam opulenti et calamitosi quam ii, qui putantur beati. O praeclaram sapientiam! solem⁴⁷

enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda; neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut 5 non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus iniustis iustos maxime dolere, inbellibus fortis, 10 flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene 48 constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. Quam ob rem, si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas 15 propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt: quae quidem est cum multis 20 in rebus tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non nullas curas et molestias adferunt, repu- 25 dientur.

14. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus adplicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor exoriatur necesse 49 est. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis 30 inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum

delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. Quid? 50 si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam inlicitat et attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura; nihil est enim adpetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura 10 constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet; non enim est inhumana virtus neque immunis neque superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optume consulere soleat, quod non faceret profecto, si a 15 caritate vulgi abhorreret. Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere; non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum, si cum studio est profectum, 20 tantumque abest ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii, qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidii, minime alterius indigent, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud sciam an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis: ubi enim studia nostra 25 viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

15. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffuentes audiendi, 52 si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent si cognitam, disputabunt; nam quis est, proh deorum fidem 30 atque hominum, qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannus

norum vita, nimirum in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla
stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper
53 suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae; quis enim aut
eum diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet?
Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus: quod si
forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderunt, tum intellegitur quam
fuerint inopes amicorum; quod Tarquinius dixisse ferunt,
tum [exsulantem] se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset,
54 quos infidos, cum iam neutris gratiam referre posset: quam-
quam miror illa superbia et inopportunitate si quemquam 10
amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores
veros amicos parere non potuerunt, sic multorum opes prae-
potentium excludunt amicitias fidelis: non enim solum ipsa
Fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos,
quos complexa est; itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contu- 15
macia, neque quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius
fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea
commodis fuerint moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus
inmutari [sperni ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis].
55 Quid autem stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, 20
opibus possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos,
famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa, amicos non parare,
optumam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem?
Etenim cetera cum parant, cui parent nesciunt nec cuius
causa laborent; eius enim est istorum quidque, qui vincit 25
viribus: amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa
possessio, ut, etiam si illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona
Fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit
esse iucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

56 16. Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines et 30
quasi termini deligendi, de quibus tris video sententias ferri,
quarum nullam probo: unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum
adfecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos, alteram, ut nostra in

amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter
aequaliterque respondeat, tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse
faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli 57
prorsus adsentior: nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad
5 modum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus; quam
multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus
[causa] amicorum! precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum
acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in
nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestis-
10 sime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri
boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius
quam ipsi fruantur. Altera sententia est, quae definit ami- 58
citiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est
nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par
15 sit ratio acceptorum et datorum: divitior mihi et adfluentior
videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare restricte ne plus
reddat quam acceperit; neque enim verendum est ne quid
excidat aut ne quid in terram defluat aut ne plus aequo quid
in amicitiam congeratur. Tertius vero ille finis deterrumus, 59
20 ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis; saepe
enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes ampli-
ficandae fortunae fractior: non est igitur amici talem esse
in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut
amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque in spem cogi-
25 tationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae
constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere Scipio
solitus sit, dixero: negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae
potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset ita amare oportere,
ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse, ut
30 hoc, quem ad modum putaretur, a Biante dictum esse
crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem: inpuri
cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revo-
cantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam

amicus esse poterit ei, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? Quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plaris det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursus autem recte factis commodisque amicorum [necesse erit] angi, dolere, invidere. Qua re hoc 5 quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam amicitiam valet: illud potius praecipiundum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam si minus felices in deligendo fuisset, ferendum id 10 Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

61 17. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, 15 ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates adiuuandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudine sequatur; est enim quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero neglegenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res 20 gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium, quam blanditiis et adsentando conligere turpe est: virtus, quam 62 sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est. Sed—saepe enim redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia—querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores 25 essent: capras et ovis quot quisque haberet dicere posse, amicos quot haberet non posse dicere; et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis deligendis negligentis esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitiam essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi 30 et stabiles et constantes eligendi, cuius generis est magna penuria; et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum, experiundum autem est in ipsa amicitia: ita praecurrit amicitia

iudicium tollitque experiundi potestatem. Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae, quod utamur quasi equis temptatis sic amicitia, aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia
5 perspiciuntur quam sint leves, quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna; sin vero erunt aliqui reperti qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, cum
10 ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Inbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam; quam etiam si neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. Itaque verae amicitiae
15 difficillime reperiuntur in iis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur: ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quamquam
20 Ennius recte

‘Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur,’

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia
25 praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

18. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides; nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et
30 consentientem, id est, qui rebus isdem moveatur, eligi par est, quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem; neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturae consentit, aut fidus aut

stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblati, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse; est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem 5 licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia: primum, ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam; deinde non solum ab aliquo adlatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem ab 10
66 amico esse violatum. Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haud quaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facili- 15 tatemque proclivior.

67 19. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros antepondere solemus: indigna homine dubitatio! non enim debent esse amicitia- 20 arum, sicut aliarum rerum, satietates: veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina, quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debet suavissima, verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul
68 edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. Novitates autem, si spem adferunt ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus 25 fructus adpareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae, vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda; maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin ipso equo, cuius modo feci mentionem, si nulla res inpediat, nemo est quin eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo; nec vero in 30 hoc, quod est animal, sed in iis etiam, quae sunt inanima, consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosos etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori; saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege: numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis; Quintum vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnis per se esse ampliores volebat. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunae consecuti sint, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant inbecilliores vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati; ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt: quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum; fructus enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maximus capitur, cum in proximum quemque confertur.

20. Ut igitur ii, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari; quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere: odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet is, in quem conlata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit. Quam ob rem, ut ii, qui superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit nisi iis, qui etiam contemnendos se

arbitrantur, qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam
73 opere levandi sunt. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum,
primum, quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam, quantum
ille, quem diligas atque adiuves, sustinere; non enim neque
tū possis, quamvis excellas, omnis tuos ad honores amplissi- 5
mos perducere, ut Scipio P. Rupiliū potuit consulem effi-
cere, fratrem eius Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam possis
quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen quid ille
74 possit sustinere. Omnino amicitiae conroboratis iam con-
firmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec, si 10
qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos
habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praeditos dilex-
erunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi iure vetustatis
plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt: qui neglegendi quidem
non sunt, sed alio quodam modo *aestimandi*. Aliter ami- 15
citiae stabiles permanere non possunt; dispaes enim mores
disparia studia sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat
amicitias, nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi
bonis amici esse non possunt nisi quod tanta est inter eos,
quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque distantia. 20
75 Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiiis, ne intemperata
quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, inpediat magnas
utilitates amicorum; nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Troiam
Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem
erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum inpedientem 25
audire voluisset. Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut disceden-
dum sit ab amicis: quas qui inpedire volt, quod desiderium
non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam
76 ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus. Atque in omni re
considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico et quid patiari 30
a te inpetrari.

21. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiiis dimittendis
non numquam necessaria; iam enim a sapientium familiari-

tatibus ad vulgaris amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia: tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem
5 dicere audiui, dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit ut non statim alienatio disiunctioque faciunda sit. Sin autem aut morum 77 aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit
10 aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit—loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapientium, sed de communibus amicitiiis—, cavendum erit ne non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae susceptae videantur; nihil enim est turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum
15 familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompeii meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio, propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello: utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate et offensione animi non acerba. Quam ob rem primum danda opera est ne 78
20 qua amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut extinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae videantur. Cavendum vero ne etiam in gravis inimicitias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur; quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferundae sunt et hic honos
25 veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit, qui faciat, non is, qui patiatur iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. Digni autem sunt amicitia, 79
30 quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur. Rarum genus! et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam

bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se
 80 maximum fructum esse capturos. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetita, nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et
 5 quanta sit; ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se quisque sibi carus est: quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur; est enim is, qui est tam-
 81 quam alter idem. Quod si hoc adparet in bestiis, volucris- 10 bus nantibus agrestibus, cicuribus feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant—id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur—, deinde ut requirant atque adpetant, ad quas se adplicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in 15 homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirat, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus.

22. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, habere talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt, quaeque 20 ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab iis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benevolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus iis, quibus ceteri 25 serviunt, imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligunt, sed etiam verebuntur: nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit vere- 30 cundiam. Itaque in iis perniciosus est error, qui existimant libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam: virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum

comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quae summa sunt, pervenire, coniuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret; quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum
5 optimus beatissimusque comitatus. Haec est, inquam, so- 84
cietas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas, ut et cum haec adsint beata vita sit et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci,
10 virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus; ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. Quocirca—85
dicendum est enim saepius—cum iudicaris, diligere oportet,
15 non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et diligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis repente in medio cursu
20 amicitias exorta aliqua offensione dirumpimus.

23. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime neces- 86
sariae tanta incuria; una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cuius utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt. A multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio
25 esse dicitur; multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflamman-
tur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment; itemque cetera, quae quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro
30 nihilo putent: de amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii, qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii, qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii, qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi, postremo ii, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus,

sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex
 87 parte liberaliter vivere. Serpit enim nescio quo modo per
 omnium vitas amicitia nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem
 patitur esse expertem sui; quin etiam si quis asperitate ea
 est et inmanitate naturae, congressus ut hominum fugiat 5
 atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem
 accepimus, tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat ali-
 quem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitalis suae. Atque hoc
 maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis
 nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleretur et in solitudine 10
 uspiam conlocaret atque ibi subpeditans omnium rerum, quas
 natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino
 aspiciendi potestatem eriperet: quis tam esset ferreus qui
 eam vitam ferre posset cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum
 88 omnium solitudo? Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino 15
 Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare
 audiavi ab aliis senibus auditum: si quis in caelum ascendisset
 naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset,
 insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quae iucundissima fuisset,
 si aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil 20
 amat semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum adnititur,
 quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

24. Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret quid velit,
 anquirat, desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo modo
 nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et 25
 multiplex usus amicitiae multaeque causae suspicionum offen-
 sionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre
 sapientis est: una illa subeunda est offensio, ut et utilitas in
 amicitia et fides retineatur; nam et monendi amici saepe
 sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benevole 30
 89 fiunt. Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in Andria
 familiaris meus dicit,

‘Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.’

Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est
venenum amicitiae, sed obsequium multo molestius, quod
peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit; maxima
autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem
5 obsequio inpellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et
diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut ob-
iurgatio contumelia careat; in obsequio autem, quoniam
Terentiano verbo libenter utimur, comitas adsit, adsentatio,
vitiourum adiutrix, procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico,
10 sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno,
aliter cum amico vivitur. Cuius autem aures clausae veritati 90
sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus despe-
randa est; scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa, melius de
quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos, qui
15 dulces videantur: illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam.
Atque illud absurdum, quod ii, qui monentur, eam molestiam,
quam debent capere, non capiunt, eam capiunt, qua debent
vacare; peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste
ferunt: quod contra oportebat, delicto dolere, correctione
20 gaudere.

25. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae 91
amicitiae et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum pati-
enter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam in
amicitiis pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem, blanditiam,
25 adsentationem; quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc
vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium, ad volun-
tatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. Cum autem 92
omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est—tollit enim iudicium
veri idque adulterat—, tum amicitiae repugnat maxime: delet
30 enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest.
Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat
ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque
unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius, commutabilis,

93 multiplex? Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam voltum atque nutum convertitur?

'Negat quis, nego; ait, aio; postremo imperavi egomet mihi Omnia adsentari,'

5

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona, quod
94 amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. Multi autem Gnathonum similes cum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est adsentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit
95 auctoritas. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et inter-
10 nosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est adsentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem
96 et severum et gravem. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper
15 influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis pl. reficiendis! dissuasimus nos; sed nihil de me, de Scipione dicam libentius: quanta illa, di immortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed adfuistis et est in manibus oratio.
20 Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo fratre Scipionis et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi videbatur! Cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur, atque is primus instituit
25 forum versus agere cum populo: tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me, quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus: ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.
30

97 26. Quod si in scaena, id est in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et inlustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri

oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quamquam ista adsentatio, 5 quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit ut is adsentatoribus patefaciat auris suas maxime, qui ipse sibi adsentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. Omnino est amans sui virtus; 98 optume enim se ipsa novit quamque amabilis sit intellegit: 10 ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt: hos delectat adsentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est 15 igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non volt, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis adsentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

‘Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi!’

Satis erat respondere ‘magnas’: ‘ingentis’ inquit. Semper 20 auget adsentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur, volt esse magnum. Quam ob rem, quamquam blanda ista 99 vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam adlectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant ne callida adsentatione capiantur. Aperte 25 enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors: callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet studiose cavendum est. Nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe adsentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui 30 inlusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam inludi? quod ut ne accidat magis cavendum est:

‘Ut me hodie ante omnis comicos stultos senes
Versaris atque inlusseris lautissime.’

100 Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est inprovidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiiis perfectorum hominum, id est sapientium—de hac dico sapientia, quae videtur in hominem cadere posse—, ad levis amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam ob rem ad illa prima 5 redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

27. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat; in ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia: quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem adspexit agnovitque in alio, 10 ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est, ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim ductum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita; quae tamen ipsa ecflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu 15

101 eam minus secutus sis. Hac nos adulescentes benevolentia senes illos. L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Galum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus; haec etiam magis elucet inter aequalis, ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummius: vicissim autem 20 senes in adulescentium caritate adquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutilii, A. Verginii familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia *ex alia* aetas oriatur, maxime quidem optandum est ut cum aequali- 25 bus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire; sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur; caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. 30 Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae extincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui

illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis: nemo umquam animo aut spe maiora suscipiet qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna 103
5 aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare: in hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil audiui ex eo ipse quod
10 nollem, una domus erat, idem victus isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi 104
semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum
15 recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem; sed nec illa extincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen adferret mihi aetas ipsa solacium; diutius
20 enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non possum; omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiam si magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem: vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

NOTES.

DE SENEOTUTE.

§§ 1-8. *Dedication of the treatise to T. Pomponius Atticus.*

Page 3, line 1. O Tite, &c. These verses are taken from the Annals of Ennius (see note on § 10). They are supposed to be addressed to T. Quinctius Flamininus at the time when he was engaged in the war against Philip V of Macedon, B.C. 198. The speaker is a shepherd, poor but trustworthy (*vir haud magna cum re sed plenus fidei*), whom Charopus, an Epirote chieftain, had sent to guide the Roman General over the mountain passes between Epirus and Thessaly.

Adiūero. The *v* of the perfect stem is dropped and the vowel shortened, as in the more common forms *audierim* for *audiverim*, &c.

Levasso, contracted for *levaveso*, another form of *levavero*. Cf. *faxit*, p. 29, l. 7, which is probably for *faci-sit = fecerit*. Madvig and others hold that these forms in *-so* and *-sim* are futures indicative and subjunctive, formed as in Greek by the addition of the suffix *s* to the stem, *leva-s-o*, *fac-s-im*, and explain the doubling of the *s* in *levasso* and similar forms as due to a mistaken analogy with such contracted forms as *amasse = amavisse*.

l. 2. Coquit, 'harasses.' So Virg. Aen. 7. 344, 'Quam . . . femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant;' and Sil. Ital. 14. 103, 'Quos ira metusque coquebat.'

Versāt. The original quantity of the vowel, which in the 3rd person becomes short in classical Latin, is here preserved. The instances of these archaic long vowels occur generally in the arsis, less frequently in the thesis of the verse; as p. 7, l. 4, *ponēbāt*.

l. 5. Flamininum. T. Quinctius Flamininus, elected consul B.C. 198, when little more than thirty years of age, although he had not previously filled the offices of praetor and aedile. He received as his province Macedonia and the conduct of the war against Philip V, whom in 197 he defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalae. In the following year, at the Isthmian games, he proclaimed the freedom of Greece. He was a man of high culture and a sincere admirer of Greek literature. His popularity among the Greeks was very great, and till the end of his life he exercised a controlling influence over Greek affairs. He was censor B.C. 189, immediately before Cato, § 42.

l. 6. Re = *re familiari*, 'property.'

Plenus; final *s* was pronounced so lightly as to be disregarded in

prosody by the earlier poets and even by Lucretius and Catullus. Cf. § 14, 'senio confectus' quiescit.'

Fidēl. This quantity is found also in Lucretius, v. 102.

l. 7. *Quamquam* = καίτοι, 'and yet.' So inf. l. 17, *etsi*, which is not so common.

l. 10. *Cognomen*, i.e. his surname of Atticus.

Deportasse. *Deportare* means to convey from the provinces into Italy.

l. 11. *Eisdem rebus*. The anxiety to which Cicero alludes was caused by the increasing influence of Antony after the death of Caesar. See Introduction.

l. 12. *Me ipsum*. *Quibus ego ipse commoveor* would be more regular. The accusative *me* is due to the attraction of the preceding *te*. So most frequently after *quam*, as Ter. Phorm. 591, 'Ego hominem callidiorē vidi neminem quam Phormionem.'

l. 14. *Ad te*, 'dedicated to you.'

l. 15. *Aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis*. At the time when this treatise was written Cicero was 62, Atticus 65. *Senectus* was supposed to begin at 60. See note on § 4.

l. 20. *Munere*. The book is regarded as a present to the person to whom it is dedicated. Cf. the dedication of the *Academica* Post. 1, 'Exspectabam omnino iam diu meque sustinebam, ne ad te prius ipse quid scriberem quam aliquid accepissem ut possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere.'

Eo, quo uterque—uteretur, 'such as we might both employ to our common advantage.'

P. 4, l. 2. *Cui qui pareat, &c.*, 'and the man who should be guided by it would pass every season of life without annoyance.' *Cui* = *et ei*, and *qui* is practically equivalent to *si quis*, so that *pareat* is in the subjunctive as being the verb of the protasis of a conditional sentence; vid. Roby's Latin Gram. vol. II. § 1558.

l. 5. *Misimus*, 'I am sending.' Epistolary tense.

Tithono. The lover of Aurora, at whose request the gods granted him immortality, but without the further gift of eternal youth.

l. 6. *Ceus* or *Cius* = Greek Κεῖος, a native of Ceos, not to be confused with *Chius* = Greek Χῖος, a native of Chios. Aristo Ceus was a Peripatetic philosopher, who flourished about 250 B.C. Cicero says of him that he was 'concinus et elegans,' but wanting in 'gravitas.' How far Cicero was indebted to his dialogue we have no means of judging. He must be distinguished from the more famous Aristo Chius the Stoic.

l. 8. *Apud quem*, 'in whose house.' *Facimus*, cf. inf. § 54, 'Homerus Laertam colentem agrum et stercorantem facit.'

l. 11. *Suis libris*. *De Re Rustica*, a treatise on Agriculture; *Origines*, a history of Rome from its foundation; some moral treatises addressed

to his son, and a number of speeches. Of these we possess only the *De Re Rustica*. Cato is said to have studied Greek in order to instruct his son, whose education he refused to entrust to slaves.

§§ 4-14. *Introductory matter.* Scipio expresses the admiration which he and Laelius feel for the manner in which Cato bears the burden of old age. Cato replies that the secret of his life is that he follows the guidance of nature. Those who find old age intolerable have their own folly to blame. The practice of virtue ensures a happy old age. Cato then quotes instances of distinguished men who have lived in happiness and activity to extreme old age.

l. 15. Hoc C. Laelio, 'C. Laelius here.' Cf. *De Am.* § 7, 'Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola.'

l. 18. *Senserim* is subjunctive, because the speaker is quoting his own words, in which he gave Laelius the reason for his admiration of Cato.

l. 19. *Aetna gravior.* A proverbial expression drawn from the story of Enceladus, the giant, over whose prostrate body Zeus cast Mount Etna. Cf. Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 638 sqq., ἀχθος τὸ γῆρας δὲ βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων ἐπὶ κρατὶ κεῖται.

l. 22. *Qui—petunt.* The wise man, according to the Stoic philosophy, was independent of external circumstances and found within himself the source of perfect virtue and happiness. So in *De Am.* § 7, Fannius says to Laelius, 'Hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas.'

l. 24. *Adferat*, subjunctive, because the sentence is virtually conditional, quod being equivalent to *si id*, or *dummodo id*.

l. 26. *Inconstantia*, 'inconsistency.'

l. 27. *Putavissent.* The sentence in *Oratio Recta* would run, 'Obrepat senectus, citius quam putaveramus.' 'Old age steals on us more swiftly than we should have thought.' Cf. § 38 ad fin., 'non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus.'

l. 29. *Adulescentiae, &c.* The ordinary division of a man's life was into five ages. 1. *Pueritia*, ending about 16; 2. *Adulescentia*, 16-30; 3. *Iuventus*, 30-45; 4. *Aetas seniorum*, 45-60; 5. *Senectus*, from 60 onwards. In this passage, *adulescentia* embraces 2 and 3, and *senectus* 4 and 5.

l. 31. *Praeterita enim aetas, &c.*, 'for when once their life, however long it might be, had passed and vanished away, no consolation could have brought comfort to their foolish old age.'

P. 5, l. 2. *Cognomine.* During the latter part of his life Cato was regularly known by the cognomen of 'Sapiens.' Cf. *De Am.* § 6, 'Cato quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis.'

l. 3. *Naturam optimam ducem, &c.* To live in harmony with nature, ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, was, according to the Stoics, the

mark of the truly virtuous and wise man. Cf. De Am. § 19, 'Natura optima bene vivendi dux.'

l. 5. Actum. Life is compared to a stage play, as in §§ 64, 70, 85.

l. 9. Quid est, &c., 'for to resist nature is nothing but to fight like the giants against the gods.' The Latin idiom inverts the two members of the comparison. Cf. Pro Rosc. Amer. xix. 54, 'Quid est aliud iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum atque ad libidinem, nisi hoc modo accusare,' &c.; and Philip. ii. 7, 'Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem?'

l. 17. Volumus, &c. This speech of Laelius and the whole of the next two sections are a fairly close translation of Plato, Rep. 418 E, sqq.

l. 18. Quam nobis ingrediundum sit. This use of the transitive gerund in the nominative with an accusative case following instead of the more common *quae—ingrediunda sit* is very rare. Vid. Roby, Lat. Gram. II. p. lxxiii, where one other instance is quoted from Cicero.

l. 21. Pares autem, &c. Cf. Hom. Od. xvii. 218, *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἀγεί θείης ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον*, and our 'Birds of a feather.'

l. 22. C. Salinator. C. Livius Salinator was Praetor B.C. 191, and had command of the fleet against Antiochus. He was consul with M. Valerius Messalla in B.C. 188, and died B.C. 170.

l. 23. Sp. Albinus, consul with Q. Marcius Philippus B.C. 186.

Consulares. Men who had held the office of consul.

l. 26. Qui mihi non id videbantur, &c. Cf. Plato, Rep. 328 E, *ἑμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ὅτι οὐ τὸ αἰεὶ αἰετῶσαι*.

l. 30. Non moleste ferrent. An instance of litotes = 'rejoiced.' Hence we have 'et—non moleste' instead of the more usual 'nec—moleste.'

l. 33. Difficiles, 'surly.' Inhumani, 'unmannerly.'

P. 6, l. 4. Opes, political influence: copias, material wealth: dignitatem, social position.

l. 6. Est istud quidem aliquid, 'your objection has considerable weight.' Cf. De Am. § 16, 'Istuc quidem ita necesse est,' where *istuc* = 'what you have just said.'

l. 7. Seriphio. An inhabitant of Seriphus (now Serfo or Serfanto), one of the group of islands called the Cyclades.

l. 11. Quod eodem modo, &c., 'and this may similarly be asserted of old age. In extreme poverty old age cannot be a light burden even for a wise man, while for a fool it must be heavy even amid the greatest plenty.' Observe the chiasmus, 'levis—sapienti—insipienti—non gravis.'

l. 15. In omni aetate, 'at every age,' that is from youth onwards.

l. 16. Cum diu multumque vixeris, 'after a long and busy life.' Cf. inf. § 38, 'res multum et diu cogitatas.'

Eloferunt, an older form of 'efferunt,' not uncommon in Cicero. So in § 39 we have 'ecfrenate' = 'effrenate.'

1. 18. *Quamquam id quidem maximum est*, 'although in truth that is a most important matter.'

1. 21. *Quintum Maximum*. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator, the famous general who broke the power of Hannibal. In his fifth consulship, 209 B.C., he recaptured Tarentum from the Carthaginians. This city with the exception of the citadel had been lost to the Romans since 212 B.C.

1. 23. *Comitate*, 'courtesy.' *Conditā*, from *condio*, lit. seasoned with, tempered by. Cf. De Or. II. 53. 212, 'Oratio illa temperata est, in qua asperitas contentionis oratoris ipsius humanitate conditur.'

1. 25. *Consul primum*, in 233 B.C. His other consulships were in 228, 215, 214, and 209 B.C.

1. 27. *Miles*, as a common soldier. Cf. § 18, 'Et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul.'

1. 29. *Quem magistratum*. Sc. *quaesturam* implied in *quaestor*. Cato held the quaestorship in 204 B.C., so that *quadriennio post* must refer to the date of his election, which was in 205.

1. 31. *Legis Cinciae*. A plebiscitum passed in the tribuneship of M. Cincius Alimentus (B.C. 204), entitled 'De Donis et Muneribus.' From Tacitus, Ann. xi. 5, we learn that one of its provisions forbade the acceptance of money or other reward for pleading a cause: 'Ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve acciperet.'

P. 7, l. 1. *Iuveniliter*. Hannibal was at that time about 30 years old.

1. 2. *Familiaris noster*. Ennius, the greatest of early Latin poets. Cato is said to have made Ennius' acquaintance in Sardinia, when he was returning home in 203 B.C. after his year's service as quaestor to Scipio in Sicily. The poet accompanied him to Rome, but it does not seem that there was ever any real intimacy between them. At all events, in 187 B.C. Cato, the uncompromising opponent of the new culture, vigorously attacked the consul M. Fulvius Nobilior, for carrying Ennius in his suite during his Aetolian campaign.

1. 3. *Unus homo, &c.* Imitated by Virgil, Aen. vi. 846,—

'Tu Maximus ille es

Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.'

Cunctando. A reference to Maximus' famous cognomen Cunctator. Rem = rem publicam.

1. 4. *Noenum*, an archaic form of non = ne-unum, 'not one whit.' For the interchange of *oe* and *u*, cf. *poena* and *punio*, *moenia* and *munio*, &c.

Ponebat. See note on *versat*, § 1.

1. 7. *Salinatori*. The commander of Tarentum, who held the citadel against Hannibal, was M. Livius Macatus, a kinsman of the more famous M. Livius Salinator, who together with Claudius Nero defeated Hasdrubal

on the Metaurus near Sena (B.C. 207). After the recapture of Tarentum the senate held a warm discussion on the question whether Macatus ought to be punished for the loss of the town. Salinator defended him vigorously, and the senate in consequence took no steps against Macatus. Cicero tells this story with the same mistake, *De Oratore*, ii. 273.

l. 11. *In toga*, 'in civil life,' 'as a statesman.' For the contrast cf. Cicero's well-known line '*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*.'

l. 12. *C. Flaminius*. C. Flaminius was tribune of the people B.C. 232, and in spite of the vehement opposition of the senate and optimates, carried the agrarian law referred to here. There is considerable difficulty about the date, as Fabius' 2nd consulship, when he had Carvilius for a colleague, was in 228 B.C. Mr. Reid quotes C. F. Hermann (in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1843), who suggests that Cicero may be thinking of the previous consulships of Fabius and Carvilius, which were respectively 233 and 232 B.C. As the tribunes entered office on Dec. 10, and the consuls not till April 13, the tribuneship of Flaminius would fall partly within Fabius' and partly within Carvilius' consulship.

l. 14. *Dividenti* = '*cum dividebat*,' 'when he wished to divide.'

l. 19. *Est in manibus*, 'is in everybody's hands,' 'is familiar to us all.' So *De Am.* § 96, '*Est in manibus oratio*.' On the other hand, in § 38, '*Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus*,' = 'I am engaged upon,' &c. So § 22, '*eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat*.'

Laudatio, sc. '*funebri*,' the funeral speech which Fabius himself delivered.

l. 21. *In oculis civium*, as Mr. Reid well points out = 'in the gaze of his fellow-citizens,' not 'in the eyes of,' which has a different meaning. Cf. *Ad Qu. Fr.* i. 1. 9, '*In luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae*;' *De Or.* ii. 10. 41, '*In foro atque in oculis civium*;' *Pro Planc.* 27. 66, '*Habitavi in oculis*.'

l. 23. *Scientia iuris augurii*. The '*ius augurium*,' or '*ius augurale*,' was one division of the '*ius Pontificium*' or '*sacrum*,' which was opposed to the '*ius civile*' in its narrower sense (= 'the secular law'), both being included in the wider meaning of '*ius civile*' (as opposed to the '*ius gentium*'). The '*ius augurium*' was preserved in books called '*libri augurales*.'

Ut in homine Romano, 'considering that he was a Roman.' Cf. *Cic. Brut.* 26. 102, '*L. Caelius Antipater scriptor fuit, ut in temporibus illis, luculentus*.'

l. 25. *Domestica* goes with '*bella*.' '*Domestica bella*' are those in which Rome was engaged, '*externa bella*' those which were between two foreign states.

l. 27. *Unde* = 'a quo.'

l. 30. *Scipiones aut Maximi*, 'men like Scipio or Maximus.' Cf. *De Am.* § 21, '*Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones, Philos*,' and inf. § 15.

P. 8, l. 1. *Qualem accepimus Platonis*, sc. 'senectutem fuisse.'

l. 2. *Scribens est mortuus*, 'died while still occupied in writing.'

Isocratis. One of the greatest of Athenian rhetoricians, and the instructor of many famous orators, statesmen, and philosophers. He was born B.C. 436, and committed suicide on hearing of the defeat at Chaeronea, B.C. 338.

l. 3. *Qui Panathenaicus inscribitur*. Cf. § 59, 'Liber, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur.' The 'Panathenaicus' was a speech in praise of Athens written to be recited at the Panathenaic festival. It is still extant.

l. 5. *Gorgias*. A famous sophist, born at Leontini in Sicily. He visited Athens in extreme old age, and lived after that for some time in Thessaly. He died about B.C. 378.

l. 8. *Nihil habeo quod accusem senectutem*, 'I have no reason to find fault with old age.'

l. 9. *Sua—suam*. The position of *sua* and *suam* shows that they are emphatic. 'It is their own vices, their own shortcomings, which the foolish lay to the charge of old age.'

l. 12. *Spatio supremo* probably means 'in the last round of the course.' Cf. Virg. Aen. v. 325, 'Spatia et si plura supersint.'

l. 13. *Vicit Olympia*, 'hath conquered oft at the Olympian games.' *Olympia*, neut. acc. plur., in imitation of the Greek phrase *Ὀλύμπια νικᾷν*. *Confectus*. For the scansion see the note on § 1, 'plenus fidei.'

l. 15. *Probe meminisse potestis*. A rhythmical ending, such as Cicero generally avoids. Cf. § 75, 'opus esse videtur.'

l. 16. *Hi consules*, 'the present consuls.' This fixes the supposed date of the dialogue at B.C. 150. T. Flamininus was a son of the famous T. Flamininus, the liberator of Greece. See note on § 1, ad init.

l. 17. *Iterum* is to be taken only with 'Philippos.' Caepio was consul in this year, B.C. 169, for the first time.

l. 19. *Legem Voconiam*. The 'lex Voconia' was enacted in B.C. 169 on the proposal of Q. Voconius Saxa, a tribune of the people. It provided that no person who was rated in the census at 100,000 asses or upwards could make a woman his heir.

Lateribus = 'lungs.'

§§ 15-26. *Cato enumerates the four most common complaints against old age. 1. It withdraws men from active life; 2. It weakens the bodily forces; 3. It robs men of all pleasures; 4. It is not far from death. To the first objection Cato replies: men are not necessarily inactive because their bodily strength is weakened by old age. The wisdom which directs and controls is theirs: they are the salvation of states, which the rashness of youth would bring to ruin. Nor is it true that old age is necessarily accompanied by loss of memory. That is owing either to want of practice or a natural defect.*

l. 24. **Unam.** In Cicero *unus* and *alter* are commonly used instead of *primus* and *secundus* in enumerations.

l. 29. **Quibus?** = 'a quibus.' The omission of the preposition before Interrogative and Relative words is common, when they are governed by the same preposition as a preceding demonstrative, and the verb in both sentences is the same. See Madvig, L. G. § 323 b. obs. 1.

l. 31. **Vel** = 'even:' most commonly used in this sense with superlative. Cf. Plaut. Pseud. i. 3. 89, 'Vel sex menses opperibor.'

l. 32. **L. Paulus.** L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus was consul in B.C. 181, and again in B.C. 168, when, being upwards of sixty years of age, he finished the third Macedonian war by the conquest of Perseus at Pydna. Of his two sons, the elder was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus, the younger by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus Major. See Introduction.

l. 33. **Pater tuus**, sc. Scipio; so in § 29, 'avi tui,' and in § 75, 'avum tuum,' where Scipio's name is not introduced. On the other hand, in § 49 we have 'patris tui, Scipio.'

Filii mei. Cato's eldest son, M. Porcius Cato Licinianus, married Aemilia, the younger daughter of L. Aemilius. He was a distinguished jurist, and wrote some celebrated works on law. He also served with honour against Perseus in the battle of Pydna. He died in B.C. 152, shortly before the supposed date of the *De Senectute*.

Fabritioi, &c., 'men like Fabricius,' &c. C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul B.C. 282, 278, and 273. Fought against Pyrrhus at the battles of Heracleia and Asculum. He was sent to Tarentum in 279 to treat with Pyrrhus, and his refusal to be corrupted by Pyrrhus' lavish bribes is famous. He is frequently mentioned by Cicero as a type of the old-fashioned Roman character. Cf. *De Am.* § 18, where he is associated again with Curius and Coruncanius.

P. 9, l. 1. Curii. M'. Curius Dentatus was consul in B.C. 290, when he conquered the Samnites and Sabines, gaining two triumphs in one year. He was consul again in B.C. 275, when he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum and drove him out of Italy. After a third consulship in B.C. 274 he retired to his farm and passed the rest of his life there: vid. inf. § 55.

Coruncanii. Tiberius Coruncanius, as consul in B.C. 280, quelled an insurrection in Etruria during the war with Pyrrhus. In B.C. 254 he was created pontifex maximus, being the first plebeian who attained that dignity.

l. 2. **Appii Claudii.** Appius Claudius Caecus was censor in B.C. 312, consul for the first time in B.C. 307, and for the second time in B.C. 296. According to Livy (ix. 29), his blindness was a punishment for the crime he committed in instigating the Potitii to admit freedmen to the sacrifices of the Ara Maxima. His censorship is famous, both for the

sweeping changes he made in the constitution of the senate, and for the great public works, the road and aqueduct, which bear his name. In B.C. 280, when Cincas was sent to Rome by Pyrrhus to negotiate a peace, Appius, too old to walk, was carried to the senate-house to make his speech in favour of continued resistance.

l. 8. *Antehac*, two syllables, by synizesis.

Via. Archaic form of the genitive. The construction is an imitation of the Greek: 'Whither have your minds, that erst were wont to stand upright, swerved madly from the path?'

l. 12. *Anni decem interfuisse*, 'ten years had intervened between' the end of the first and the beginning of the second consulship.

Censorque, &c. Smith, *Dict. Antiq.*, p. 261 *a*, says, 'As a general principle the only persons eligible to the office (of censor) were those who had previously been consuls, but a few exceptions occur.'

l. 14. *Grandem sane*, 'quite an old man.'

l. 15. *Nihil igitur adferunt*, 'their assertion amounts to nothing.'

l. 17. *Per foros* = 'along the gangways.'

l. 18. *Sentinam*, 'bilge-water;'; *clavum*, 'the tiller.'

l. 23. *Miles* = common soldier, as in § 10.

Tribunus. The tribuni were the chief officers of the legion (Greek *ὑπάρχοντες*). Each legion had six such officers, elected partly by the general in command and partly by the people. Cato was probably a tribunus in the army which conquered Hasdrubal at the Metaurus.

l. 24. *Legatus*. A member of the staff of a general; appointed by the general himself, but not allowed to join without the sanction of the senate. Cato served as legatus to M'. Acilius Glabrio in the campaign against Antiochus (B.C. 191), and distinguished himself at the battle of Thermopylae. (But see note on § 13.) As consul Cato held a command in Hither Spain, and gained a triumph (B.C. 194).

l. 25. *Quae sint gerenda*, sc. 'bella.'

l. 26. *Karthagini*, &c. Cato was in his later years continually urging on the senate the necessity of crushing Carthage. No matter what was the subject of debate, Cato always gave as his vote that Carthage should no longer be allowed to exist. Plut. Cat. maj. 27, *δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι*, or, as Florus gives it, 'Carthaginem esse delendam.'

l. 29. *Avi reliquias*, 'what was left undone by your grandfather' (i. e. Scipio Africanus Major). *Avi* is subjective genitive. Cf. Virg. Aen. i. 30, 'Troas reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli.' The younger Scipio carried out this wish of Cato's in B.C. 146, when he captured Carthage and left it in ruins.

P. 10, l. 6. *Apud Laedaemonios*—*senes*. The senate of the Lacedaemonians was called *γερουσία*, or, in the Laconian dialect, *γερῶτα* or *γερωντία*. Its members were called *γέροντες*, and were all over 60 years of age.

l. 11. *Cedo*, 'tell me;' lit. 'give me here,' from *ce*, 'here,' and *da*. So the plural *cette* is for *ce-date*. 'Dare' is often used in the sense of 'to tell,' as in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 19, 'Sed tamen iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.'

Qui = 'quo modo.'

l. 12. *Naevii*. Cn. Naevius, a native of Campania, born about B.C. 270. He came early to Rome, where he at once commenced to write poetry, in which he vigorously attacked the Roman aristocracy, taking the same line as Cato. He was thrown into prison for libelling one of the Metelli; and, getting into trouble a second time soon after his release, he retired to Utica, where he composed his poem on the Punic Wars. Cf. § 50. He also wrote dramas, and some short quasi-dramatic poems called *Ludi* or *Satirae*, from one of which these lines are quoted. The lines are iambic tetrameters, acatalectic, and are thus scanned—

$\cup \cup \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \cup \text{—} || \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \cup \text{—} ||$
 $\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} || \cup \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \cup \text{—} ||.$

l. 14. *Proveniebant*, 'kept coming forward,' to speak.

l. 15. *Temeritas est, &c.*, 'thus rashness is obviously the mark of youth, wisdom of old age.'

l. 17. *Tardior*, 'somewhat dull.'

l. 19. *Qui Aristides—solitum?* 'Was accustomed to greet as Lysimachus, one who really was Aristides.' The periphrasis '*qui Aristides esset*' is used instead of the accusative '*Aristiden*' as the direct object of '*salutare*,' to avoid the awkwardness of the two accusatives coming together. The subjunctive *esset* is owing to the oblique construction. Lysimachus was the name of the father of Aristides.

l. 21. *Quod aiunt*, like '*ut aiunt*' *De Am.* 19, and '*ut dicitur*' *inf.* § 49, used in quoting a common or proverbial saying.

l. 23. *Senem* is a predicate, 'that any one, because he was old, forgot,' &c.

l. 25. *Vadimonia*. Vadimonium is bail given for the appearance of a defendant in court to take his trial. 'The sureties they have given for their appearance in court.'

l. 26. *Quid iuris consulti, &c.*, 'what of lawyers, pontiffs, &c., when they are old? How many things they remember.'

l. 29. *Honoratis*, men who hold or have held high magisterial office (*honores*). Note the chiasmus, *claris* being opposed to *quieta*, *honoratis* to *privata*.

P. 11, l. 1. *Nostro more*. One of the laws of the XII Tables provided that the property of a madman was to be administered by his blood-relations or the members of his gens. SI . FVRIOSVS . ESCIT . ADGNATVM GENTILIVMQVE . IN . EO . PECVNIAQVE . EIVS . POTESTAS . ESTO.

Male rem gerentibus—solet, 'fathers who are ruining their property

are forbidden the management of their estate.' *Patribus* is dative, *bonis* ablative of *bona*. *Interdico* governs dat. and abl. Hence in the passive it can only be used in the impersonal construction, and keeps both cases as in the active. Cf. the common expression, '*alicui aqua et igni interdicitur*.'

l. 3. *Quam in manibus habebat*, 'which he was engaged upon.' See note on § 12.

l. 7. *Hesiodum*, of Ascrea in Boeotia, lived about the ninth century B.C. His most famous poems were the 'Works and Days,' a didactic poem on agriculture, and the *Theogonia*.

Simonidem, of Ceos, one of the most celebrated lyric poets of Greece, died at the court of Hiero of Syracuse, B.C. 467, aged 89.

l. 8. *Stesichorum*, a native of Himera in Sicily: also famous as a lyric poet. He died about the time of Simonides' birth.

Isocraten, *Gorgian*. See notes on § 13.

l. 9. *Pythagoram*. Of Pythagoras himself little is known. Cicero says he came into Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. He settled in Magna Graecia, where his disciples flourished for many years in great numbers.

Democritum, of Abdera, one of the most famous of the pre-Socratic philosophers, who developed Leucippus' theory of atoms. He lived about 400 B.C.

l. 10. *Xenocraten*, a disciple of Plato and his successor as head of the Academy.

Zenonem. Zeno of Cittium was the founder of the Stoic philosophy. He was succeeded as head of the school by Cleanthes.

l. 11. *Diogenem*. Diogenes the Stoic (to distinguish him from Diogenes the Cynic) was sent to Rome as ambassador from Athens along with Carneades the Academic and Critolaus the Peripatetic in B.C. 155. The philosophic discourses of Carneades so offended Cato that he persuaded the senate to expel the embassy from the city.

l. 12. *An in omnibus, &c.* 'Or, in the case of all of these, did the active pursuit of their occupations last as long as their life?'

l. 15. *Quibus absentibus*. 'In whose absence, hardly ever are any of the more important operations on the farm carried out, either in the way of sowing, or harvesting, or storing up the produce.' *Serendia, &c., fructibus*, ablatives of respect.

l. 19. *Idem*, nom. plural.

l. 21. *Serit, &c.* This line consists of 4 *Bacchii* (---). The lengthening of the *i* in the third conjugation is not uncommon. See Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens*, p. 117. *Alteri saeculo*, 'the next generation.'

l. 22. *Statius*. Caccilius Statius, an Insubrian Gaul by birth, wrote comedies at Rome. Roman writers placed him in the first rank of dramatists, classing him as at least equal if not superior to Plautus and

Terence. Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 59, 'Dicitur . . . Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte;' and Volcatius Sedigitus, ap. Gell. xv. 24,—

'Caecilio palmam statuo dandam comico,
Plautus secundus facile exsuperat ceteros.'

Synephebis, 'The Youthful Friends,' a comedy translated by Caecilius from the *Συνήφηβοι* of Menander.

l. 27. **Idem**, nom. masc., as p. 12, l. 1, 'idem Caecilius.' Illud, the following passage.

l. 30. **Volt—videt**. The subject is indefinite, 'one'; Fr. 'on'; Germ. 'man.' Cf. § 74, 'Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere?' So just below, 'ipsum esse odiosum,' 'to feel one's-self troublesome to another.'

P. 12, l. 13. **In superiore vita**, 'in the early part of their life.'

Quid? qui, &c., 'what of those who are even continually acquiring fresh learning?'

l. 15. **Qui se—fieri**. Plutarch quotes Solon's line, *γῆράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*.

l. 16. **Sic**. Mr. Reid points out that *sic* does not qualify *avide*, but is the antecedent to *quasi*. Cf. § 12 ad fin., 'ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi,' &c. 'Sic' = 'in such fashion.'

l. 18. **Quod cum fecisse, &c.**, 'and when I heard that Socrates had done this in the case of the lyre,' viz. learned to play when he was old.

l. 20. **Discebant fidibus**, 'learned to play on the lyre.' Understand *canere*. So Cic. ad Fam. ix. 22. 3, 'docere fidibus;' Ter. Eun. i. 2. 53, 'scire fidibus.'

§§ 27–38. *Examination of the second charge brought against old age, that it makes the body weaker than it was. It is true that old age has not the strength of youth, but neither is it necessary for the due performance of an old man's business. Besides, a temperate youth ensures a vigorous old age. And if old men are sometimes quite incapable of work, that is owing to illness, and may happen equally to the young. And lastly, care and exercise will preserve the bodily powers in full activity to a great age.*

l. 22. **Nec—quidem**. Gk. οὐδέ. 'Neither do I,' &c.

l. 23. **Locus**, a 'common place,' a stock argument.

l. 25. **Pro viribus**, 'in proportion to one's strength,' that is, 'with all one's might.'

l. 26. **Contemptior**. *Contemptus* here has the force of an adjective in *bilis*, 'more despicable.'

Milonia. Milo of Croton, a city of Magna Graecia, was an athlete famous for his marvellous strength, and the victories which he gained at the Olympian and Pythian games. Many stories of his extraordinary

achievements are told, as for instance that he carried an ox round the stadium at Olympia and then ate the whole of it at one meal, see § 33. He commanded the army of his native city in the great battle in which Sybaris was crushed, B.C. 511.

l. 31. **Sex. Aelius**, Paetus Catus; consul B.C. 198 and censor B.C. 193, was famous for his treatises (commentarii) upon the Roman Law. Cicero calls him, *De Or.* i. 212, 'Iuris consultus vere,' and again, *Brut.* 20. 78, 'Iuris civilis omnium peritissimus.' Cicero two or three times quotes Ennius' line about him, 'Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus.'

l. 32. **Ti. Coruncanius**, see note on § 15.

Modo. Crassus died 33 years before the supposed date of this dialogue, so that we must give a liberal interpretation to *modo* 'at a later date.'

P. Crassus. P. Licinius Crassus Dives was elected pontifex maximus in B.C. 212, and held that office till his death at an advanced age in B.C. 183. He was consul with Scipio Africanus in B.C. 205, and was defeated by Hannibal near Croton. He was famous for his knowledge of civil and pontifical law: cf. *Liv.* xxx. 1, 'Iuris pontificii peritissimus.'

l. 33. **Iura civibus praescribebantur**. The early Roman juriconsults sat either in a public place or at their own house at stated times, and gave advice to all who wished to consult them on points of law. Cf. *Cic. de Or.* iii. 133.

P. 13, l. 1. Orator metuo, &c. 'I am afraid that an orator grows feeble through old age: for his gift depends not merely on his intellect, but on his lungs and bodily strength as well. Certainly that melodious quality in the voice becomes by some means or other more brilliant in old age: indeed I have not lost it even yet, and you see my years. But for all that, an old man's quiet and gentle manner of speaking is appropriate, and the sedate and dispassionate speech of an eloquent old man of itself often gets itself a hearing: and if one cannot attain to this, one may at least instruct a Scipio and a Laelius.'

l. 13. **Cn. et P. Scipiones**. Publius Scipio was consul in B.C. 218, and received Spain as his province. On his arrival there he found that Hannibal had escaped him, and was already across the Pyrenees. Leaving his brother Gnaeus in Spain, he returned by sea to Italy, and commanded the Roman army at the battle of the Ticinus, where he was severely wounded and only saved from death by his young son, afterwards Scipio Africanus. In B.C. 217 he returned to Spain, where for five years the two brothers carried on the campaign with considerable success. At last they both fell within a month of each other, in two separate engagements. Cf. *inf.* § 75, 'Duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt.'

Avi tui duo. Scipio was grandson, by birth, of L. Aemilius Paulus; by adoption, of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. L. Aemilius Paulus was consul in B.C. 219 with M. Livius Salinator. He was consul a second time in B.C. 216, and fell in the disaster of Cannae. Cf. inf. § 75, 'Morte eluit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem.' He was the father of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, whose two sons were adopted, the elder by the son of Q. Fabius Maximus, the younger by the son of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

l. 19. Cyrus. The elder, the founder of the Persian monarchy.

Apud Xenophontem, 'in Xenophon,' as in § 31. 'Apud Homerum.' Cicero is quoting from the *Cyropaedia*, viii. 7. 6, *ὥστε καὶ τοῦμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ἡσθόμεν τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνώμενον.*

l. 23. L. Metellum. L. Caecilius Metellus, consul for the first time in B.C. 251, when he gained a great victory over Hasdrubal in Sicily, and captured all his elephants. He was consul a second time in B.C. 247, and was made Pont. Max. B.C. 243. He lost his sight in rescuing the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta, and for this brave action was rewarded by the people with a statue on the Capitol, and the privilege, never granted to any one previously, of being borne to the senate-house in a carriage.

Memini puer. A curious construction. We should naturally have expected *me puero*. 'I remember that when I was a boy,' &c.

l. 27. Quamquam — conceditur. Cf. § 82, 'Ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glori-'

l. 29. Ut = 'how.'

l. 30. Tertiam aetatem. Nestor had outlived two generations of men: his contemporaries and their sons had passed away, and their grandsons were the heroes of the Trojan war. Cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 249 sqq.—

Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων βέεν αὐδή,

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Ἐφθιάθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἡδ' ἐγένοντο

Ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθῇ, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἀνασσαν.

P. 14, l. 1. Dux ille Graeciae, 'that famous leader of all Greece,' viz. Agamemnon.

l. 2. Nusquam, nowhere in Homer.

l. 3. Sed ut Nestoris. Cf. Agamemnon's speech to Nestor, Hom. *Il.* ii. 371 sqq.—

Αἱ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,

Τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἰεν Ἀχαιῶν.

Τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος,

Χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσιν ἀλοῦσά τε περθόμενη τε.

l. 6. Queo is rarely used without a negative. We have another instance in *De Amicitia*, § 71, 'Queant dicere.'

l. 9. Tribunus militaris. According to Livy xxxvi. 17. 1, Cato

served with M'. Glabrio as legatus, a position more suitable to one who was consular than that of an ordinary legionary officer. See note on § 10.

M'. M' represents the archaic form of M (M), which was used as the initial of Manius to distinguish it from Marcus. So Gaius and Gnaeus are represented by the initials C. and Cn., C. in the early Latin alphabet doing duty for both C and G.

l. 10. *Glabrione*. M'. Acilius Glabrio was consul B. C. 191, and held the command in the war against Antiochus III, whom he defeated in the battle of Thermopylae. His success was due, in a great measure, to Cato's assistance. Cato's subsequent relations to Glabrio were not friendly; they were rival competitors for the censorship in B. C. 189, and Cato brought about the defeat of his old general by accusing him of retaining for his own use part of the spoils of the Syrian army.

Non plane me enervavit, 'has not entirely taken all the vigour out of me.'

l. 11. *Curia*, the place in which the senate met: here used for the senate.

l. 12. *Rostra*. The platform in the forum from which the orators addressed the people: so called because it was adorned with the beaks of conquered war-galleys.

l. 17. *Fuerim*. In the subjunctive, because *cui = ut ei*, 'to find that I was engaged.'

l. 18. *Ne vos quidem = ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὑμεῖς*, 'but neither have you.' Cf. § 27, ad init., 'Nec nunc quidem.'

T. Pontii. Probably the same man as is mentioned in the lines of Lucilius, quoted by Cic. de Fin. i. 9—

'Graecum te Albuci quam Romanum atque Sabinum,
Municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum
Praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque
Maluisti dici,' &c.

l. 19. *Moderatio virium*. Mr. Reid points out that *moderatio* means 'a right application,' not 'a moderate amount of strength.' *Moderatio* has no such concrete sense in Latin.

l. 22. *Milo*. See note on § 27.

l. 24. *Denique*. 'In fine, make the most of your advantage, while it is with you: when it has gone, do not regret it: unless haply young men are to regret their boyhood, and those somewhat advanced in life the days of their youth.'

l. 27. *Simplex*, 'straightforward.' There is no retracing one's steps in the path of life.

l. 28. *Tempestivitas*, 'its seasonable character.'

l. 29. *Ferocitas*, 'impetuosity.'

Constantis aetatis. So in § 76, 'Constans aetas, quae media dicitur.' Cf. Suet. Galb. 4, 'Aetate nondum constanti.'

l. 31. *Quod suo tempore percipi debeat*, 'which must be gathered in at its proper time.'

l. 32. *Hospes tuus avitus*, 'your grandfather's friend.' Africanus' influence over Masinissa was very great, and was probably the cause of his faithful attachment to Rome after his desertion of the Carthaginian alliance.

P. 15, l. 3. *Siccitatem*, 'firmness of flesh,' 'solidity such as accompanies good health.' Cf. Cic. Tusc. v. 34. 99, 'Adde siccitatem, quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu, adde integritatem valetudinis.'

l. 6. *Ne sint*, &c., 'granted that bodily strength fails in old age.'

l. 7. *Institutis*, 'customs,' as opposed to formal statutes.

l. 9. *Non modo*. Here for *non modo non*, the second negative being supplied from the *ne—quidem* which follows.

l. 12. *Commune valetudinis*, 'common to weak health.'

l. 13. *P. Africani filius*. From the epitaph, commonly assigned to him (Corpus Inscr. 83), we learn that this son of Scipio was Flamen Dialis. The inscription runs—

Qui apicem insignem dialis flaminis gesistei

Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia,

Honos fama virtusque gloria atque ingenium, &c.

l. 15. *Illud* = 'he.' The pronoun being attracted into the gender of the predicate *lumen*. Cf. Cic. Phil. v. 14, 'Pompeio patre, *quod* imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto.' (Roby, Lat. Gram. 1068.)

l. 16. *Ad paternam—accesserat*, 'for besides his father's greatness of mind, he had in addition a wider learning.'

l. 21. *Habenda ratio valetudinis*, 'we must have regard to our health.'

l. 22. *Tantum* = 'only so much.'

l. 27. *Exercitando*, 'by exercising (them).' The gerund never has a passive signification, though we are tempted to translate it passively where, as here, the subject of the clause is the object of the gerund. See Roby, Lat. Gram. vol. ii. introd. pp. lxiii. sqq. The verb *exercitare* is rarely found except in the participle *exercitatus*, which is regularly used as the participle of *exerceo*. Here the rarer verb is used to balance the preceding *exercitatio*.

l. 28. *Comicos stultos senes*, 'the foolish old men of comedy.' The whole passage is given, De Am. § 99. For Caecilius, see note on § 24.

l. 31. *Petulantia* = 'licentiousness.'

l. 33. *Deliratio*, lit. 'a going out of the furrow in ploughing.' A rare word, only found in one other passage of Cicero, De Div. ii. 43. 90. Translate 'dotage.'

P. 16, l. 1. *Levium*, 'worthless, good for nothing,' opposed to *frugi*.

l. 2. *Tantas clientelas*, 'such numerous bodies of clients.' Eminent

Romans often numbered amongst their clients whole communities, whose interests they undertook to maintain in Rome.

l. 3. *Et caecus et senex*, 'though he was both old and blind.'

Intentum, 'tightly-strung,' opp. to *remissus*.

l. 5. *Imperium*, here = '*patria potestas*,' by which the head of the family had the absolute disposition of the persons and property of the members of his family.

l. 8. *Ita—si* = 'only on condition that.'

l. 9. *Si nemini mancipata est*, 'that it is delivered into no man's control.' *Mancipare*, 'to deliver up property to another by formal act of purchase.'

Ad ultimum spiritum. Cf. § 27, fin., '*Ad extremum spiritum*.'

l. 12. *Quod qui sequitur*, 'he who aims at this,' viz. having something of the youth even in his old age.

l. 13. *Mihi est in manibus*, 'I am engaged upon.' Cf. § 22, '*Quam in manibus habebat*.'

Originum. The *Origines* of Cato was the first real historical work written in Latin, and the earliest attempt of any importance at prose literature. It took its name from the contents of the first two books, which treated of the early history of Rome, and the rise of many other Italian towns. The seventh book brought the history of Rome down to Cato's own death.

l. 14. *Omnia antiquitatis monumenta*. Doubtless to serve as materials for the '*Origines*.' Cato mentions, for example, his study of sepulchral inscriptions, § 21.

Causarum—*orationes*, 'now more than ever I am working up my speeches in all the celebrated causes in which I have been an advocate.' *Defendere causam* is simply to act as advocate in a case whether for the prosecution or defence. 150 of Cato's speeches were known to Cicero.

l. 16. *Ius augurium, &c.* See note on § 12, '*Quae scientia iuris augurii*.'

l. 17. *Pythagoreorum more*. In the so-called *ἐπη χρυσᾶ*, which profess to give a summary of the Pythagorean ethics, we have these verses—

Μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὀμμοῖσι προσδέξασθαι
Πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρίς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν.
Πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέεσθαι;

l. 20. *Curricula*, 'the training-grounds.' Cf. § 27, '*Athletas se exercitis in curriculo*.'

l. 22. *Ultroque—viribus*, 'and of my own accord I contribute suggestions long and carefully thought out, and support them by strength of mind, not of body.' For *multum et diu*, see note on § 9, '*Cum dia multumque vixeris*.'

l. 23. *Quas si exsequi nequirem.* Cf. § 28, 'Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas.'

l. 27. *Ita sensim, &c.* 'So gradually and imperceptibly does life wane, and is not suddenly shattered, but flickers down with lapse of time' [Reid]. Note the alliteration in '*sensim sine sensu aetas senescit.*'

§§ 39-66. *Examination of the third charge, that old age deprives men of pleasures. Cato replies that this, so far from being an evil, is a blessing, for pleasure is a source of crime, and a hindrance to thought and action. Besides, old age has its own virtuous pleasures: the companionship of friends, literary occupation, and, above all, the delights of agriculture, which Cato describes at length. A miserable old age is the result of a vicious youth; and lastly, with regard to the charge that old men are peevish, bad tempered, and avaricious, that is the result of a faulty disposition, and must not be set down to old age.*

l. 30. *Quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus,* put for '*quod, ut dicunt, caret voluptatibus,*' by a common Latin confusion.

l. 31. *Aetatis* must here mean 'old age.'

l. 32. *Id aufert, &c.,* 'advancing years remove from us that which is the greatest fault in youth.'

l. 33. *Archytas.* A famous philosopher, mathematician, statesman, and general. He was a native of Tarentum, and a contemporary of Plato, whose life he is said to have saved through his influence with the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse. Horace, *Od. i. 28*, calls him '*maris et terrae numeroque carentis arenae Mensorem.*' For another similar saying of Archytas, see *De Amic. § 88*.

P. 17, l. 3. *Capitaliorem,* 'more deadly.'

l. 4. *Cuius voluptatis, &c.,* 'for the passions eager for this pleasure rushed in blind unbridled course to its attainment.'

l. 5. *Ecofrenate.* See note on *ecoferunt*, § 9.

Hinc = 'ab hac' (sc. '*voluptate*'); so *unde*, § 12 = 'a quo.'

l. 8. *Ad quod suscipiendum, &c.,* 'which men could not be driven to undertake by the lust of pleasure.' *Impelleret* would be *impellat* (subj.) in oratio recta, *ad quod* being = *ut ad id*.

l. 16. *Fingere animo* = 'to picture to themselves.'

Tanta—maxima, 'the greatest pleasure that could possibly be felt.' *Percipi = percipi sensibus* (not *percipi animo*, 'to be apprehended, conceived').

l. 21. *Maior atque longior,* 'stronger or more enduring than usual.'

l. 22. *Omne animi lumen.* Cf. § 36, 'Nam haec quoque (sc. *mens atque animus*), nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute.'

Haec cum C. Pontio, &c. The construction is, 'Nearchus Tarentinus

dicebat se a maioribus natu accepisse Archytam haec cum C. Pontio locutum esse, cum quidem ei sermoni,' &c.

C. Pontius, surnamed Herennius, father of the renowned Samnite general C. Pontius, was an old man living at Caudium, when his son captured the Roman army in the defiles near that town, B.C. 321.

l. 25. *Nearehus*. Acc. to Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.*, he instructed Cato in the Pythagorean doctrines, of which he was a follower.

Qui—*permanserat*, i.e. throughout the occupation of Tarentum by Hannibal, B.C. 212-209.

l. 27. *Cum quidem* = 'quo quidem tempore,' 'at a time indeed when,' &c.

Quem Tarentum venisse. Plato made more than one journey to Italy, in order, according to Cicero, to study the doctrines of the Pythagoreans. (Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 17. 39, '*Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam venisse.*') But the date given here is said to be impossible. L. Camillus and Ap. Claudius were consuls in B.C. 349, one year before Plato's death, and it is improbable that he undertook such a journey in his extreme old age.

l. 29. *Quorsum haec?* sc. '*dicebam.*' Cf. § 13, '*Quorsus haec tam multa de Maximo?*' and § 44, '*Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate?*'

l. 31. *Quae effloeret, &c.*, 'for that it caused us to feel no inclination for that which we ought not to do.'

The imperfects *intellegeretis, efficeret, &c.*, are owing to the tense of *dicebam* understood in '*Quorsum haec?*' In English we should use the present.

l. 33. *Mentis praestringit oculos*. A common metaphor in Cicero. Cf. § 83, '*ille animus, cui obtusior sit acies.*'

P. 18, l. 1. *Invitus feci ut eicerem*, 'I reluctantly took steps to expel.' So *De Amic.* § 4, '*Feci non invitus ut prodessem multis.*'

l. 2. *T. Flaminini*. See note on § 1.

L. *Flaminium*. Held command of the Roman fleet at the time when his brother Titus was appointed to conduct the war against Philip of Macedon, B.C. 198. In consideration of his services in this war, he was elected consul in B.C. 192, receiving Gaul as his province. The story of his horrible crime is told in Livy, xxxix. 43.

Et senatu eicerem. It would fall to Cato's duty as censor to purge the senate of those persons whose character was unworthy of their position.

Septem annis. These seven years are reckoned from the close of Flamininus' consulship, which ended in B.C. 191. Cato was censor in B.C. 184.

l. 3. *Notandum*. *Notare* = 'to brand with the *nota censoria.*'

l. 4. *Cum esset consul in Gallia*; not 'when he was consul in Gaul.'

but 'when he was in Gaul during his consulship.' [Reid.] Cf. § 39, 'Cum essem adulescens Tarenti.'

Exoratus est, 'was prevailed upon, successfully entreated.'

l. 5. *Ut securi feriret* = 'to behead.' According to Livy, Flaminius slew the man with his own hand.

l. 7. *Qui proximus ante me fuerat*. As the censors were only elected once in five years, T. Flaminius and his colleague were the only pair who had looked over this grave offence.

Mihi et Flacco. The 'nota censoria' was only valid when it had the sanction of both censors. L. Valerius Flaccus was throughout his life a firm friend and supporter of Cato. He was his colleague in his consulship as well as his censorship, and served also in company with Cato as legatus to M'. Acilius Glabrio in B.C. 191.

l. 11. *Porro*, lit. 'further on,' that is, 'tracing the story further back.' Translate, 'in their turn.'

l. 12. *O. Fabricium*. See note on § 15.

l. 14. *Cineas*, minister of Pyrrhus, famous for his eloquence, which he is said to have studied under Demosthenes himself. He was sent to Rome after the battle of Heraclea (B.C. 280) to negotiate a peace, on which occasion Ap. Claudius delivered his famous speech. See § 16.

Quendam Athenis. Epicurus, who died in B.C. 270.

l. 15. *Ad voluptatem esse referenda*, 'were to be measured by the standard of pleasure.' Epicurus taught that actions were good or bad, according as they tended to produce pleasure or its opposite.

l. 16. *M'. Curium. Ti. Cornucanum*. See notes on § 15.

l. 19. *P. Decio*. This is P. Decius Mus the younger. See note on § 75, 'duos Decios.'

l. 22. *Qui cum ex sua, &c.*, 'who judging both from their own lives and from the deed of that Decius of whom I am speaking, decided that there certainly was something naturally beautiful and excellent, which was sought for its own sake alone, and which the best men followed scorning and disregarding pleasure.'

l. 28. *Exstructis*, 'loaded with dishes.'

l. 30. *Cruditate*, 'indigestion.'

Insomniis, 'sleepless nights.' The nom. sing. is *insomnium*.

Sed si aliquid, &c., 'but if we must make some concession to pleasure.'

l. 32. *Escam malorum*, lit. 'the bait of wickedness,' i.e. 'an enticement to evil.' Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 69 D, *ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ*.

P. 19, l. 2. *O. Duellium*, consul in B.C. 260, in which year the Romans determined to build a fleet and encounter the Carthaginians on the sea. Duellius, by means of the grappling-irons which he had invented, gained a brilliant victory off Mylae in Sicily. It was in commemoration

of this that the *columna rostrata*, a column adorned with the beaks of the captured ships, was erected in the forum.

l. 4. *Funali*. A torch made of fibres of papyrus or other plants, twisted together like a rope (*funis*), and smeared with wax or pitch.

Quae sibi, &c., 'which privilege, although not holding office (*privatus*), he had, without any precedent, assumed.' According to the Epitome of Livy xvii., the right of being escorted home from banquets with torch and flute-player was granted him for his victory at Mylae: 'Perpetuus honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena, tibicine canente, funale praeferretur.'

l. 7. *Sodalis*. The members of a *sodalitas* or association of persons for convivial purposes. Each club associated itself with certain religious rites, and held banquets on fixed days.

Sodalitates autem, 'moreover, new clubs were established during my quaestorship, when the rites of the Great Mother were brought to Rome.' The image of Cybele, the Magna Mater, was brought to Rome during the Hannibalic war (B.C. 203), and her worship solemnly instituted (Liv. xxix. 11).

l. 9. *Omnino modice sed*, 'in moderation, it is true, but still,' &c. Cf. § 28, '*Omnino canorum*,' &c.

l. 10. *Aetatis* here must stand for 'youth,' as in § 39 for 'old age.'

l. 15. *Tum comotationem, tum concenationem*. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. ix. 24. 3, '*Sapientius nostri quam Graeci: illi συμποσία aut σύρδεια id est comotationes aut concenationes; nos convivia, quod tum maxime simul vivitur.*'

l. 18. *Tempestivis*. *Tempestiva convivia*, 'banquets that begin betimes,' that is, before the regular hour. To begin a feast early in the day was looked upon as very dissipated.

l. 20. *Cum vestra aetate*, 'with men of your age.'

l. 24. *Cuius fortasse*, 'of which a limited amount is perhaps demanded by nature.' Cf. § 44, '*Si aliquid dandum est voluptati.*'

l. 25. *Carere sensu*, 'lacks the power of enjoyment.'

l. 26. *Magisteria*. The appointment of a master of the feast, *magister* or *arbiter bibendi*, in Greek *συμποσιαρχος*.

l. 27. *Et is sermo, &c.*, 'and that discussion, which, according to our ancestors' custom, passes from left to right with the cup.' Of the three couches which were placed round a Roman dining-table, the one to the left hand was called *lectus summus*, the one in the middle *lectus medius*, the one at the right hand *lectus imus*. Each couch held three guests, who were called also, beginning in each couch from the left, *summus*, *medius*, and *imus*. The cup passed from the guest on the extreme left—*summus* in *summo*—round to the guest on the extreme right—*imus* in *imo*: and the subject of the conversation was discussed by each guest in turn in the same order.

l. 28. **Symposio.** The Symposium or Banquet of Xenophon is an imaginary dialogue, supposed to be held at a banquet given by Callias, a rich Athenian, to Socrates and some of his friends. The subject of the talk is love and friendship, and an interesting picture is given of an Athenian drinking-party.

l. 29. **Minuta atque rorantia.** Cf. Xen. Symp. II. 26, ἦν δὲ ἡμῶν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐψακάζουσιν, οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιζόμεθα.

Rorantia represents ἐψακάζουσιν, 'cups which give their wine in drops.'

l. 30. **In Sabinis,** 'among the Sabines.' Cato's farm was in the Sabine country. Cf. § 24, 'Ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos.'

l. 31. **Conviviumque, &c.,** 'I daily make one of a party of my neighbours.' **Compleo,** 'I fill up,—complete the number of.'

l. 33. **Titillatio,** 'the tickling,' an Epicurean word, = Greek γαργαλισμός. Cicero never uses it without the apologetic *quasi*, 'if I may use the word.' Cf. De N. D. i. 113, 'Leviore voluptates, quibus quasi titillatio—Epicuri enim hoc verbum est—adhibetur sensibus.'

P. 20, l. 1. **Nihil autem, &c.,** 'but nothing gives a man any annoyance, provided he does not feel the want of it.'

l. 2. **Sophocles.** This story is taken from Plato, Rep. I. p. 329 c.

l. 4. **Di meliora!** Supply *dent*.

Istinc = 'ab istis rebus veneris.' See note on hinc, § 40. Sophocles' answer in Plato runs, εὐφήμει, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἀσμεναίτατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυτῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγόν.

l. 7. **Quamquam non caret, &c.** For the meaning of *careo*, cf. Tusc. Disp. I. 87, 'Triste enim est nomen ipsum carenti, quia subiicitur haec vis: habuit, non habet: desiderat, requirit, indiget;... Carere igitur hoc significat, egere eo, quod habere velis.'

l. 9. **Bona aetas,** 'happy youth.'

l. 12. **Turpione Ambivio,** L. Ambivius Turpio, a celebrated actor and manager of about Cato's date. His 'grex,' or company, produced most of the comedies of Terence. With respect to the order of the words **Turpione Ambivio**, Lahmeyer points out that in old Latin it was customary, where the praenomen (here *Lucius*) was not given, to place the cognomen before the nomen.

In prima cavea = in the front part of the 'cavea,' the name given to that portion of the theatre in which the spectators sat. *Prima* and *ultima* are used here in the same way as *summus* and *medius* in such phrases as 'in summo monte,' 'per mediam urbem,' &c. Cf. Roby, Lat. Gram. II. § 1295.

l. 16. **Tanquam emeritis stipendiis,** 'having, so to speak, served through the campaign of lust,' &c. A man in old age is compared

to a veteran who has fought life's battles and retired from active service. In *prae-Augustan Latin*, *emeritus* is always passive, as in this passage.

l. 19. *Studii*, genitive depending on *pabulum*.

l. 20. *Videbamus*. 'We used to see C. Galus engaged in his favourite pursuit of taking the measure, we might almost say, of heaven and earth.'

l. 21. *O. Galum*. C. Sulpicius Galus served as *tribunus militum* under L. Aemilius Paullus in the Macedonian war (B.C. 168). Before the battle of Pydna, he predicted an eclipse of the moon to the soldiery, foretelling the exact time of its duration. He thus prevented any panic, and gained among the soldiers a reputation for superhuman wisdom (Livy xlv. 37). Cicero says of him, *Brut.* xx. 78, 'C. Sulpicius Galus, qui maxime omnium nobilium Graecis litteris studuit.'

l. 26. *Naevius*. See note on § 20. The '*Bellum Punicum*' was the work of his old age.

l. 27. *Truculento—Pseudulo*. *Truculentus* 'The Bully,' *Pseudulus* 'The Liar,' were two of Plautus' later comedies, the latter being a translation from Menander.

l. 28. *Livium*. Livius Andronicus, the earliest Latin poet. He was a Greek by birth, but being captured in war was sold as a slave to M. Livius Salinator, who afterwards gave him his freedom. He wrote many plays, the first of which was acted in B.C. 240, the year of the consulship of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tuditanus. Besides his plays, he wrote a Latin translation of the *Odyssey* in the Saturnian metre, of which a few specimens have come down to us.

l. 29. *Fabulam docere*, like the Greek *δρᾶμα διδάσκειν*, 'to put a play upon the stage,' literally 'to teach the performers their parts.'

l. 30. *P. Licinii Crassi*. See note on § 27.

l. 31. *Huius P. Scipionis*, 'the present P. Scipio,' as in § 14, 'hi consules.' The Scipio referred to is P. Scipio Nasica Corculum. He received the cognomen of Corculum (diminutive of *cor*) on account of his sagacity and knowledge of pontifical and civil law. He married a daughter of Scipio Africanus the elder, who was first cousin of his father.

l. 32. *His paucis diebus*, 'within the last few days.' So in *oratio obliqua* we have '*paucis illis diebus*.' Cf. In *Verr.* iv. 18. 39, '*Respondit illud argentum se paucis illis diebus misisse Lilybaeum*.'

P. 21. l. 1. *M. Cethegum*, consul in B.C. 204 with P. Tuditanus: cf. § 10. As proconsul in B.C. 203 he defeated Mago, the brother of Hannibal, and drove him out of Italy. Cicero quotes Ennius' testimony to the eloquence of Cethegus at greater length in *Brut.* xv. 58, '*Est igitur sic apud illum (sc. Ennium) in nono, ut opinor, annali—*

Additur orator Cornelius suaviloquenti
Ore Cethegus Marcus Tuditano conlega
Marci filius.

Et oratorem appellat et suaviloquentiam tribuit. And *ibid.*—

'Is dictust popularibus ollis
 Qui tum vivebant homines atque aevom agitabant,
 Flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla.'

Suadae. Cf. Cic. Brut. 59, 'πειθὴν quam vocant Graeci, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius.'

l. 6. **Ut honestum illud Solonis sit,** 'so that the well-known saying of Solon is honourable to him.'

l. 8. **Senescere se, &c.** Cf. § 26.

l. 12. **Et mihi ad sapientis, &c.** Lahmeyer quotes Cato's own words, *De Re Rustica*, proem., 'Virum bonum cum laudabant (maiores nostri), ita laudabant: Bonum agricolam, bonumque colonum.'

Habent rationem cum, 'they have an account with, have to reckon with.' A metaphor from book-keeping.

l. 17. **Mollito ac subacto,** 'softened and broken-up' (by the plough).

l. 18. **Ocoecatum cohibet,** 'hides and holds fast.'

l. 19. **Occatio,** 'harrowing,' from *occa*, 'a harrow.' Varro *de Re Rustica* i. 31. 1, gives another equally impossible derivation of *occatio*, 'Quod ita occidunt glebas, occare dictum.'

Deinde tepefactum, &c., 'then when it has heated it by its own warmth and close embrace, it puts it forth and lures from it the greenness that grows like grass: and this, supported by the filaments of its roots, imperceptibly shoots up, and so reared upon its knotted straw wraps itself in its sheaths, being now so to speak of full age.'

l. 25. **Aristarum,** the beard or awns of the grain.

l. 29. **Acini vinaceo,** 'the pip of a grape.' *Vinaceus* is here a substantive.

l. 31. **Malleoli,** 'hammer-shaped cuttings,' so called from their resemblance in shape to a mallet (Lat. *malleus*). A short piece of wood was cut from a branch of the previous year's wood, having in the middle of it an eye. This piece of wood being planted in the ground so as to leave the eye exposed formed the head of the mallet, while the new shoot springing from the eye formed the handle. Cf. Colum. R. R. iii. 6. 3, 'Malleolus autem novellus est palme, innatus prioris anni flagello, cognominatusque ad similitudinem, quod in ea parte, qua deciditur ex vetere sarmento, prominens utrinque mallei speciem praebet.'

Plantae, 'slips,' or young vines ready for transplantation.

Sarmenta, strictly the tendrils and small branches of the vine. Here it means 'cuttings taken from the end of the branches.'

Vivradices, 'quicksets.' This method of propagation consisted in dividing a growing plant into several pieces, to each of which a part of the root was left attached.

Propagines, 'layers.' To form these the lower shoots of the vine were bent down and buried in the ground, an incision being made in the bark just below an eye. From this incision roots were formed, whilst

the eye sent out shoots upwards. When the new plant had taken firm hold of the ground, it was severed from its parent tree.

P. 22, l. 5. *Tamquam*. *Articuli* are strictly the joints of an animal, and are only used by a metaphor, of plants.

l. 13. *Capitum iugatio*. *Capita* are the topmost shoots of the vine. *Iugatio* the operation of tying these to the *iuga*, which were the cross-bars of wood which joined the tops of the vine-props (*adminicula*).

l. 15. *Inmissio*, opposed to *amputatio*. Some shoots are lopped off, others are allowed to grow freely.

l. 16. *Repastinationes*. *Repastinare* is to dig a field over a second time.

l. 19. *Homerus*. The passage to which Cicero refers is Od. xxiv. 226 sq. :—

Τὸν δ' οἷον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐνκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ
 Δισπρέοντα φυτόν.

Δισπρέοντα, however, only means 'digging round about the roots of a plant,' and there is no mention of manuring.

Qui multis ante saeculis fuit, 'who lived many generations before Hesiod.' Hesiod lived about B.C. 850. The date of Homer is uncertain, but was probably about 100 years earlier.

l. 20. *Lenientem desiderium*, 'trying thus to assuage the sorrow which he felt from his son's absence.'

l. 22. *Facit*. See note on *facimus*, § 3.

l. 27. *Possum persequi*, &c., 'I could enlarge upon the very many charms of a rustic life.' The Latin has *possum* where we should use a conditional. So 'longum est enumerare,' 'it would be tedious.' *Madv. L. G.* § 348 c.

l. 28. *Longiora*, 'too long.'

l. 29. *Provectus sum*, 'I have been led on' (to speak at such length). Cf. *Virg. Aen. iii. 480 sq.* :—

'Quid ultra

Provehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?'

P. 23, l. 1. *Non longe a me* = 'non longe a mea villa.'

l. 4. *Non enim aurum*, &c., 'for he said it seemed to him to be a fine thing not to possess gold but to be the master of those who did.'

l. 8. *In agris erant*, 'lived upon their farms.'

Senatores, id est senes. Cf. § 20.

l. 9. *L. Quinctio Cincinnato*. *Cincinnatus* was twice appointed dictator, according to Livy; once in B.C. 458, to deliver Rome from the Aequians (*Liv. iii. 26*), and again in B.C. 439, to crush the alleged attempt of Sp. Maelius to gain the royal power. (*Liv. iv. 13 sqq.*) The story of the ambassadors finding the old man digging in his fields or ploughing, is referred by Livy to the first dictatorship. In this passage Cicero apparently associates it with the second.

1. 10. *Cuius dictatoris iussu.* According to Livy (iv. 14) Ahala killed Maelius without explicit orders from the dictator. Ahala had been sent to arrest Maelius, and only slew him when he attempted to escape into the ranks of his partisans.

Magister equitum. Every dictator was compelled to nominate a 'master of the horse' to act as his lieutenant, and in the absence of his superior to become his representative.

1. 11. *Sp. Maelium.* A rich Roman knight, who during a famine at Rome B.C. 440, spent his large fortune in the purchase of corn, which he distributed gratuitously to the populace. This benevolence won for him the favour of the plebeians, but the intense hatred of the patricians, who invented, in order to get rid of him, the odious charge that he was aiming at kingly power. That the charge was unfounded is shown by the fact that Ahala did not venture to take his trial for the murder, but went into exile. It was the fashion with Cicero to glorify Ahala, and to class him with L. Junius Brutus as a liberator of his country. Maelius, on the other hand, he holds up to execration with Tarquinius Superbus. Cf. Phil. ii. 26; De Amicit. 28; Cat. i. 3.

Occupatum interemit, Gk. *φθόσας ἀνέκτεινεν*, 'anticipated him and slew him.'

1. 13. *Viatores.* This name was given especially to the servants who attended upon those magistrates who had no lictors, such as the tribunes of the people and the censors.

1. 16. *Officio,* 'from the sense of duty.'

1. 22. *Cella vinaria, &c.* Cf. Cato, R. R. iii. 2.

1. 24. *Succidiam,* 'a side of bacon.' Farmers call their garden 'a second flitch,' because they find in it an equally constant supply of food. 'Succidia,' according to Varro, L. L. 100, 'ab suis caedendis.'

1. 25. *Conditiore,* 'more savoury.' Cf. § 10, *condita*.

Supervacaneis operis, 'the occupations of leisure hours.'

1. 28. *Brevi praecidam: sc. sermonem.* Cf. Auct. ad Herenn. iv. 54. 67, 'Praecidere et abscindere sermonem.'

1. 29. *Ad quem fruendum.* The use of the gerundive of such verbs as *fruo, ulor, &c.*, shows that these verbs originally governed the accusative case. For the construction *retardat ad*, cf. Caes. B. G. vii. 26. 2, 'Palus Romanos ad insequendum tardabat;' and Liv. xl. 33. 6, 'Quae res ad resistendum eos et ad capessendam pugnam impedit.'

1. 31. *Ubi enim potest, &c.* Cf. § 46, 'Refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus.'

1. 33. *Habeant, sc. iuvenes.* The repetition of *sibi* instead of the conjunction (*anaphora*) gives animation to the sentence. Cf. § 13, 'Ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur.' And see Madv. L. G. § 334, obs. 2.

P. 24, l. 1. *Clava.* The heavy wooden staff with which recruits

in his youth engaged in single combat a gigantic Gaul. As soon as the fight began, a raven (*corvus*) settled upon Valerius' helmet, and whenever he advanced to attack his foe, the raven flew in the Gaul's face, till at length the barbarian was slain. From this Valerius took the cognomen of Corvus or Corvinus. He was one of the most distinguished men in the early history of the Republic: was twice dictator and six times consul. He died about B.C. 217.

1. 29. *Perduxisse*, sc. *agri colendi studia*.

1. 30. *Esset in agris*. See note on § 56.

Aetate here = *bona aetate*, 'youth.'

1. 32. *Senectutis*. *Senectus* here includes the *aetas seniorum*. See note on § 4.

P. 25, l. 2. *Apex*, literally the wooden peak which surmounted the cap of the flamens. Here metaphorically 'the crown.'

1. 3. L. Caecilio Metello. See note on § 30.

1. 4. A. Atilio Calatino, twice consul (in 258 and 254 B.C.) during the first Punic war. In B.C. 249 he was appointed dictator, and sent to conduct the war in Sicily. His tomb was just outside the Porta Capena, near those of the Scipios, Servilii, and Metelli. Cf. Tusc. Disp. i. 13, and De Fin. ii. 116.

Elogium, 'epitaph.' With this inscription, compare the similar epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio (Corp. Inscr. I. 32; Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens, p. 160):—

HONC. OINO. PLOIRVME. COSENTIVNT. Romai
DVONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO. *viroro*.

Or in modern spelling—

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum virorum.

1. 8. *Nuper*, like *modo* § 27, used of a somewhat distant time.

1. 9. M. Lepidum was pontifex maximus from B.C. 180 to B.C. 152, was more than once consul, and was chosen princeps senatus by the censors six times in succession.

1. 12. *Honorata*. See note on *honoratis viris*, § 22.

1. 21. *Honorabilia*. A very rare word, hardly found elsewhere.

1. 22. *Adpeti*, 'to be greeted.' 'Appetere' = 'to approach a man in order to shake hands with him.'

Decedi, &c., 'to see men give place to you and rise at your approach, to be escorted from home to the senate, and from the senate home, to have your advice sought.' *Decedi* and *assurgere* are impersonal, lit. 'that there should be a giving place, a rising before you.' For *deduci*, cf. Pro Muren. xxxiv. 70, 'Si interdum ad forum deducimur,' and for *reduci*, De Amicit. § 12, 'Senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vespem est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis.' The editors quote Val. Max. ii. 1. 9, 'Iuvenes senatus die utique ali-

quem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis expectabant, donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur.'

l. 28. *Tribuitur*. The mood shows that this is Cicero's own remark, and not part of Lysander's speech.

l. 29. *Ludis*, abl. of time, 'during the games.' Cf. Phil. ix. 16, '*ludis gladiatoribusque*.'

l. 33. *Sessum*, supine, 'welcomed the old man to a seat.'

P. 26, l. 3. *In nostro collegio*, the college or corporation of augurs, of which Cicero like Cato was a member.

l. 5. *Sententiae principatum*, 'the right of delivering his opinion first.'

Honore antecedentibus, 'those who have precedence in virtue of having held office.'

l. 6. *Iis, qui cum imperio sunt*. Actual consuls or praetors, the 'magistratus maiores,' who alone had the 'imperium.'

l. 9. *Fabulam aetatis peregisso*, 'to have acted out life's play to the end.' The comparison of life to a stage-play is found also in §§ 5, 70, 85.

l. 15. *Non illius quidem iustae*. The insertion of a pronoun, *tu, ille, &c.* before *quidem*, when used in this concessive sense, is almost universal in Latin. Cf. Tusc. Disp. i. 3. 6, 'Ab optimis illis quidem viris sed non satis eruditis.' In translation we should omit the pronoun. See Roby, L. G. § 2261; Madvig, L. G. § 489 b.

l. 19. *In scaena*, 'on the stage.' For another example drawn from the plot of a play, cf. De Amicit. § 24.

l. 20. *Adelphis*. 'Adelphi,' (The Brothers) a comedy of Terence, translated from Menander, one of the six which have come down to us.

Diritas. Cf. In Vatin. iii. 9, 'Quamquam sis omni diritate atque immanitate teterrimus.'

§§ 66-85. *Examination of the fourth charge against old age; that it is so near to death. Cato replies that whether he is to live after death or not, in either case death cannot be a misfortune. Besides, young men are just as apt to die as old, and death to the young is violent and painful, to the old natural and easy. A wise man will strive to live his life well, be it long or short, and will not be concerned about its duration. If young unlettered soldiers can face death without flinching, how much more should learned old men contemplate their approaching end without fear. Lastly, when the time of death comes, a man feels that he has had enough of life. Cato ends by expressing his belief in the immortality of the soul, and his conviction that he will in the future life again meet his dead son.*

l. 27. *Sollicitam habere*, 'to keep in anxiety.'

l. 28. **Nostram aetatem**, 'men of my age.' Cf. § 46, 'Cum vestra etiam aetate.'

l. 33. **Tertium certe, &c.**, 'at all events no third alternative can be found.' Cf. Ep. Ad Fam., 'Sed si res coget, est quiddam tertium.'

P. 27, l. 3. **Oui** = 'ut ei.' **Cui sit exploratum** = 'qui habeat exploratum,' 'as to feel assured.'

l. 4. **Se ad vesperum esse victurum**, 'that he will be alive when evening comes.' In classical prose the accusative *vesperum*, and ablative *vespere* or *vesperi*, are most common.

l. 7. **Quod ni ita accideret, &c.**, 'and if this had not so fallen out (viz. that most men die young), men's lives would have been better and wiser.' Cf. § 35, 'Quod ni ita fuisset,' and for the impersonal *viveretur* § 72, 'Recteque in ea vivitur.'

l. 11. **Quod est istud, &c.**, 'What does this charge against old age amount to?'

l. 12. **In** = 'in the case of.' Cf. De Amicit. § 9, 'Sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro.' For Cato's son see on § 15.

l. 13. **Expectatis ad, &c.**, 'who gave promise of reaching the highest distinction.' These were the two young sons of L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus. The younger, aged twelve, died five days before, the elder, aged fourteen, three days after, their father's triumph.

l. 21. **Tartessorum**. The south coast of Spain west of the Pillars of Hercules was called Tartessus, which is said to be the Tarshish of the Old Testament.

l. 22. **Scriptum video**, viz. in Herodotus, i. 163, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησοῦ (Ἀργανθάνιος) ὀγδάκοντα ἔτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

l. 24. **Diuturnum**, not so strong a word as *dū*, with which it is contrasted here.

l. 26. **Effluxit**. Cf. § 4, 'Praeterita enim aetas, cum effluxisset.'

Tantum = 'only so much,' as in 'tantum cibi,' § 36.

l. 27. **Consecutus sis**. When the second person singular is used in the indefinite sense of 'one,' the verb is always in the subjunctive mood. If Cicero had used the first person plural here, he would have written 'consecuti sumus.' So in § 72, 'Recte in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis' = 'Recte in ea homines vivunt quoad possunt.' Other examples in De Sen. are § 21, 'exerceas'; § 28, 'nequeas, possis'; § 36, 'instilles.' See Madv. L. G. § 370.

l. 33. **Plaudite**. The word which the actor invariably addressed to the audience at the close of the play. In English idiom 'till the fall of the curtain.' Cf. Hor. A. P. 154, 'Usque sessuri donec cantor "vos plaudite" dicat.'

P. 28, l. 2. **Processerit**, sc. 'aetate sapiens.'

l. 4. **Ver enim tanquam, &c.**, 'for spring is a kind of picture of youth, showing promise of the fruits that are to be.'

l. 10. **Secundum naturam.** See note on § 5.

l. 13. **Opprimitur—extinguitur.** Cf. De Amicit. § 78, 'Ut extinctae potius quam oppressae esse videantur.'

l. 15. **Quasi,** followed by a verb (= 'quemadmodum') is hardly found in classical Latin except in this passage.

l. 24. **Hoc illud est,** 'herein is the significance of the answer given by Solon to the tyrant Pisistratus.'

l. 26. **Tandem.** Commonly used with interrogative words in impatient questions. Cf. In Cat. i. 1, 'Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?'

Audaciter, a rarer form of *audacter*.

P. 29, l. 3. **Sapientis,** 'the sage,' a title given to Solon as one of the Seven Wise Men. Not an adjective here, otherwise a substantive in apposition to *Solonis* would be required (*viri* or *hominis*).

Elegium. The couplet is given by Plutarch—

Μηδὲ μοι ἀκλανστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

Cicero translates it, Tusc. Disp. i. 117—

'Mors mea ne careat lacrimis: linquamus amicis

Maerorem ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.'

l. 4. **Volt,** 'He wishes it to be thought.' Cf. De Orat. ii. 246, 'Qui se vult dicacem;' De Amicit. § 48, 'Qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse volunt;' and the similar use of *cupio*, Philip. ii. 19, 'Cupit se audacem.'

l. 5. **Haud scio an.** Always affirmative in sense in Cicero, 'I am inclined to think that a thing is.' 'I am not sure that it is not.' So just below, **Incertum an,** 'It is only doubtful whether it will not happen this very day.'

l. 7. **Faxit.** See note on *levassit*, § 1.

l. 9. **Iam sensus, &c.,** 'Further it may be that the pain of dying is considerable, and yet that can only last for a short time, especially in an old man.' *Moriendi* = the process of dying. *Mors* is the condition of one who is dead.

l. 11. **Meditatum.** Used passively here. Cf. Madv. L. G. § 153.

Ab adolescentia, 'from our youth upwards.'

l. 15. **Qui** = 'quomodo.' **Poterit**: see note on § 25.

l. 17. **L. Brutum.** L. Junius Brutus, the founder of the Roman Republic. He fell by the spear of Aruns, whilst resisting an attempt on the part of the people of Veii and Tarquinii to restore Tarquinius Superbus to his throne. 'The accusatives, *Brutum*, &c., are not the objects of *recorder*, as some editors say, but the subjects of infinitives to be supplied from *profectus*; the sense is, "as I remember not that L. Brutus, not that . . . but that our legionary soldiers marched, &c." [Reid.]

l. 18. **Duos Decios.** P. Decius Mus the elder was consul with T. Manlius Torquatus (B.C. 340) during the great Latin War. Just before the decisive battle, a vision appeared to the consuls declaring that the general of one side and the army of the other were destined to perish. When the armies met, Decius, summoning the Pontifex Maximus, repeated after him a formula by which he devoted himself and the Latin army to the infernal gods, then mounted his horse and rushed to his death amid the ranks of his enemies.

His son, P. Decius Mus the younger, was consul in B.C. 295. While in command of a portion of the Roman army at the battle of Sentinum, he found his troops giving way under the attacks of the Gauls. Accordingly he resolved to imitate his father, and dedicating himself and the hostile army in the same way, gained by the sacrifice of himself the victory for the Romans.

l. 19. **Cursum equorum incitaverunt.** An inversion for 'Equos ad cursum incitaverunt.'

M. Atilium. M. Atilius Regulus, while a prisoner at Carthage, was allowed to go to Rome on parole in the company of an embassy that was sent to negotiate a peace and an exchange of prisoners. Regulus however persuaded the senate to reject the Carthaginian overtures, and in spite of the entreaties of his friends returned to Carthage, where he was put to death with most cruel tortures.

l. 21. **Duos Scipiones, L. Paulum.** See note on § 29.

l. 23. **M. Marcellum.** Famous for his capture of Syracuse, B.C. 212. During his fifth consulship, B.C. 208, he fell into an ambush near Tarentum, and was killed. Hannibal buried his body with all honour. Cf. Liv. xxvii. 28. 1, 'Hannibal inventum Marcelli corpus sepelivit.'

l. 24. **Crudelissimus hostis.** Hannibal, whose *inhumana crudelitas* was a commonplace with Roman writers. Cf. De Amicit. § 28, 'Hannibalem propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.' The facts that we know about Hannibal are strangely at variance with such a character.

l. 25. **Legiones nostras—arbitrarentur.** These same words are quoted also in Tusc. Disp. i. 42. 101, as from Cato's *Origines*.

P. 30, l. 1. **Ne ea quidem.** See note on § 27.

l. 11. **Nam dum, &c.,** 'for whilst we are imprisoned within the framework of our body, we have to perform a certain function and burdensome task imposed on us by fate.'

l. 16. **Tuerentur.** Commonly said to be an intentional archaism on Cicero's part, and to be used here as='intuerentur.' Other similar archaisms, introduced by Cicero to make his style resemble Cato's, are the use of the transitive gerund with accusative § 6, *quasi*='quem ad modum' § 71, *audaciter* for *audacter* § 72. But *tuerentur* is probably used in the same sense as in other passages of the De Sen., e.g. § 81 = 'who should guard (or have charge of) the earth.'

l. 17. *Vitae modo atque constantia*, 'in moderation and consistency of life.' [Reid.]

l. 21. *Incolas paene nostros*, viz. as inhabitants of Magna Graecia. Cf. De Amicit. § 13, 'Eorum qui in hac terra fuerunt, magnamque Graeciam . . . institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt.'

l. 23. *Delibatos*. Cf. De Div. i. 49, 110, 'A qua (sc. natura deorum) haustos animos et libatos habemus.'

l. 24. *Quae Socrates, &c.*, viz. in the *Phaedo* of Plato.

l. 25. *Is qui esset, &c.* Socrates in Plato's *Apology* declares before the judges that his friend Chaerephon had obtained from the Delphic oracle a reply that 'no man was wiser than Socrates.' Cf. Plat. *Apol.* p. 21 a, *Χαιρεφῶν ἤρετο εἰ τις ἐμοῦ εἴη σοφώτερος. ἀνείλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδὲνα σοφώτερον εἶναι.* The actual words of the Oracle are quoted by the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 144—

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης·

'Ανδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

l. 29. [*Tantae scientiae.*] If we are to keep these words, I think it would be better to regard them as the nominative plural, although no other instance of *scientia* in the plural is found in Cicero. Most editors take *scientiae* as genitive singular, 'So many arts involving so great a knowledge,' but this is very awkward, and spoils the balance of the sentence. Haacke (*Lateinische Stilistik*, § 18, p. 50) says the plural is used here for the sake of concinnity, to balance *artes* and *inventae*, and quotes as parallel '*Malae cogitationes conscientiaeque animi*,' *Pro Rosc. Am.* 24. 67; '*Ebullire virtutes et sapientias*,' *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 18. 42, &c.

P. 31, l. 7. *Apud Xenophontem*. *Xen. Cyropaedia*, viii. 7. §§ 17-22.

l. 8. *Cyrus maior*, 'the elder Cyrus,' the founder of the Persian empire.

l. 21. *Ceterarum rerum, &c.* The Greek has *δὴλὰ ἐστὶν ἕκαστα ἀπὸντα πρὸς τὸ ὀμῶν πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς*.

l. 33. *Nostra* = Roman instances.

P. 32, l. 3. *Africani patrem aut patrum*. P. and Cn. Scipiones. See note on § 29.

l. 4. *Tanta esse conatos*. '*Conaturos fuisse*' would be more regular. In oratio recta the passage would be '*Non conabantur, nisi cernerent.*'

l. 7. *More senum*. Cf. § 30, '*Est id quidem senile.*'

l. 10. *Nonne melius, &c.* Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15. 33, '*Licuit esse otioso Themistocli, licuit Epaminondae, licuit, ne et vetera et externa quaeram, mihi, sed nescio quo modo inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeculorum quoddam augurium futurorum idque in maximis ingeniis altissimisque animis et existit maxime et apparet facillime. Quo quidem dempto, quis tam esset amens qui semper in laboribus et periculis viveret?*'

l. 14. *Haud*. Cicero very rarely uses *haud*, except with adjectives, adverbs, and *scio*.

l. 19. *Cui obtusior sit acies.* Cf. § 42, 'Mentis oculos.'

l. 20. *Patres vestros videndi.* Cicero generally avoids using the gerundive in the genitive plural.

l. 24. *Tanquam Peliam recoxerit.* It was Aeson, the father of Jason, whom Medea's cauldron restored to youth again. The daughters of Pelias, Aeson's brother, wishing to confer the same benefit on their father, were induced by Medea to cut him to pieces and boil him in a similar cauldron, but their enchantments were in vain, and they failed to restore him to life.

l. 26. *Decurso spatio,* 'having run life's course to the end.'

l. 27. *Ad carceres a calce,* 'from the goal back to the starting-point.' *Carceres*, the gates behind which the chariots waited until the commencement of the race. They were thrown open as a signal for the start. *Calx*, the chalked rope which marked the end of the course.

l. 28. *Sed habeat sane:* sc. 'multa commoda.'

l. 33. *Commorandi devorsorium, non habitandi,* 'a lodging wherein to sojourn awhile, not a home to live in.' *Devorsorium* is, strictly speaking, only appropriate to *commorandi*.

P. 33, l. 5. *Catonem meum,* 'my son Cato.' See note on § 15.

l. 7. *Quod contra,* 'whereas on the contrary.' Cf. *De Amicit.* 90, 'Quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.'

l. 10. *Non quo.* With subjunctive as giving the *assumed* false cause, more commonly followed by *sed quia* with the indicative.

l. 24. *Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem.* So the 'De Amicitia' closes, 'Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem.'

DE AMICITIA.

§§ 1-5. *Preface addressed to T. Pomponius Atticus.*

P. 37, l. 1. *Q. Mucius Scaevola* the Augur, celebrated for his knowledge of the law, born B.C. 174, lived till after the tribuneship of P. Sulpicius Rufus, B.C. 88 (see note on § 2). He was praetor B.C. 121, and had Asia for his province. On his return he was prosecuted for 'repetundae,' but acquitted. Cicero says that he was the friend of all the most distinguished men of his time, who used to meet daily at his house. He was married to the elder daughter of Laelius.

C. Laelio. See Introduction.

l. 2. *Memoriter.* Not simply 'from memory,' but 'with good memory.' See Madvig's note on *De Fin.* i. 10. 34.

l. 3. *A patre—eram deductus.* 'Deducere' commonly used of a father placing his son under the care of an eminent juriconsult for the purpose of receiving instruction. Cf. Tacit. *de Orat.* 34, 'Apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam

domestica disciplina, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse assuescebat.'

Ita—ut, 'so completely that.'

l. 4. *Scaevolam*, sc. 'Q. Mucium augurem.'

Sumpta virili toga. The *toga virilis* or *pura* was of white wool, without colour or border, and is here contrasted with the *toga praetexta*, which was ornamented with a broad purple border, and was the dress of boys until their fifteenth year. Cicero, who was born B.C. 106, assumed the *toga virilis* in B.C. 91.

l. 5. *Itaque multa*, &c. 'Accordingly I committed to memory many of his learned arguments, and many too of his brief and pithy sayings.' Cf. § 6, 'Multa eius . . . vel provisus prudenter,' &c., and see Madv. L. G. § 425 c.

l. 7. *Prudentia*, here 'knowledge of the law.'

l. 8. *Scaevolam*. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the Pontifex, was the son of a cousin of the Augur. He was consul B.C. 95, and was subsequently made Pontifex Maximus. He was put to death by the younger Marius and Cn. Papirius Carbo, B.C. 82. Cicero says of him (*De Or.* i. 180) that he was 'Iuris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium iuris peritissimus.' His 'iustitia' was displayed signally in his government of his province of Asia, where he gained to such an extent the affection and esteem of the inhabitants, that they set apart a special day for the commemoration of his virtues.

l. 9. *Unum* emphasises *praestantissimum*. See Madv. L. G. 310, obs. 2.

l. 11. *Cum saepe multa*, sc. 'memini eum dicere.'

Hemicyclio. A semicircular seat where several persons could sit and converse, generally placed in the open air.

l. 13. *Admodum*, to be taken with *pauci*, not with *familiares*. 'Admodum pauci' would be the more common order, but cf. § 16, 'gratum admodum.'

l. 15. *P. Sulpicio*. P. Sulpicius Rufus, one of the greatest orators of the time. Originally he was an ardent supporter of the aristocratical party, and through their influence was elected tribune of the plebs in B.C. 88, during the consulship of L. Cornelius Sulla, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship. While tribune he broke from his party, joined Marius, and proposed the law conferring on Marius the command in the Mithridatic war. Sulla, however, soon entered the city with an armed force. Marius fled, and Sulpicius was put to death.

Utebare multum. Anicia, Atticus' cousin, was married to M. Servius, the brother of P. Sulpicius.

l. 16. *Tribunus pl.*, in apposition to *is* = 'while tribune of the people.'

Capitali odio, 'deadly hatred.' Cf. De Sen. § 39, 'Nulla capitalior pestis quam corporis voluptas.'

l. 19. In eam ipsam mentionem = 'in eius ipsius rei mentionem,' so § 38, 'ex hoc numero' = 'ex horum numero,' and § 88, 'illam admirationem' = 'illarum rerum admirationem.'

l. 21. C. Fannio. For Fannius and Africanus, see Introduction.

P. 38, l. 3. Saepe mecum ageres, 'kept continually urging me,' so § 16, 'Id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer.'

l. 6. Feci—ut prodessem. Cf. De Sen. § 42, 'Invitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem.'

l. 7. Ad te. See note on De Sen. § 1, 'Aliquid ad te conscribere.'

l. 9. Persona, strictly 'a stage-mask,' then used metaphorically for a 'type of character.'

l. 11. Floruisset. Cf. De Sen. § 8, 'Fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri.'

l. 14. Genus autem, &c., 'discourses of this kind when they rest upon the authority of famous men of olden times.'

l. 22. Sic enim est habitus, 'for such he was held to be.' Laelius, like Cato, had the cognomen of 'Sapiens.'

l. 27. Te ipsum cognosces, 'you will recognise a description of yourself.' *Ipsum*, acc. because the emphasis is on the object of the sentence, 'You will recognise yourself and not another person.' Whereas *ipse* would imply, 'You, and not another person will recognise yourself.' Cf. § 10, 'Me ipse consolor,' 'I am my own comforter,' 'I require no one else to console me.'

§§ 6-16. *Introductory conversation. Fannius and Scaevola mention the general admiration which men feel for the fortitude with which Laelius bears the death of Africanus. Laelius replies that, although he feels the loss deeply, he is consoled by his belief in immortality, and by the recollection of the pleasure which he derived from his friendship with Scipio. The younger men beg him to give them his opinions upon Friendship.*

l. 28. Sunt ista, Laeli, 'What you say is true, Laelius.'

l. 31. Tribuebatur hoc, viz. 'ut sapiens appellaretur.' *Modo*, 'not long ago,' i.e. as compared with L. Acilius. Cato died in B.C. 149, twenty-one years before the supposed date of this conversation. Cf. note on *nuper*, De Sen. § 61.

l. 32. Acilium. Probably the same person as is mentioned by Cicero, De Leg. ii. 23. 59, along with Sex. Aelius, as a commentator on the laws of the XII tables.

P. 39, l. 1. Iure civili. See note on De Sen. § 12.

Quia multarum rerum usum habebat, 'because he had experience

in many things.' So in De Sen. § 4, 'Ceterarum rerum sapientiam,' and inf. § 20, 'Omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum consensio.' Cato was famous as a statesman, an orator, and a jurist; he distinguished himself in war, and left behind him works on agriculture, antiquities, history, and ethics.

1. 2. **Multa eius, &c.**, 'many stories were told of his wise plans, his resolute acts, his pointed replies both in the senate and the law-courts.'

1. 4. **Cognomen** = here 'cognomen secundum,' or fourth name, such as many Romans bore in addition to their family name as an honorary distinction, or in commemoration of some remarkable deed or event of their life. Such, for instance, were *Africanus* and *Macedonicus*, in the cases of Scipio and Paulus. Such surnames of honour were called in later Latin 'agnomina.'

1. 5. **Te autem, &c.** 'Te esse sapientem' is acc. and infin. after 'existimant.' The construction is resumed after the long parenthesis, 'qualem . . . iudicatum,' and for the sake of clearness the infinitive phrase, 'te esse sapientem' is repeated in a slightly different form 'hanc esse in te sapientiam,' which is equivalent to 'te hoc modo esse sapientem.'

1. 7. **Reliqua**, used here proleptically, with reference to *Athenis* which follows.

1. 8. **Neminem**, sc. 'fuisse,' dependent on 'accepimus.' For the ellipse cf. De Sen. 13, 'Qualem accepimus Platonis.'

Nam qui septem, &c. 'For those who are called "the seven Wise Men" are not reckoned among the number of the truly wise by those who go more deeply into the question.' The seven wise men, so called, were Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Solon of Athens, Cleobulus the Lindian, Myson the Chenian, and Chilo the Lacedaemonian. Their 'wisdom' was of a practical and not of a speculative character and displayed itself chiefly in those short moral maxims for which they are famous.

Subtilius = Gk. *ἀκριβέστερον*. 'With more exactness than most people.'

1. 10. **Apollinis oraculo**. See note on De Sen. § 78.

1. 12. **Omnia tua in te posita esse**. On the Stoic doctrine, see note on De Sen. § 4.

1. 15. **Proximis Nonis**. 'On the Nones just past.' On the Nones the augurs were in the habit of meeting for the purpose of discussion. Cf. De Div. i. 90.

In hortos. The augur's art could only be practised where a large expanse of sky was visible. Consequently they generally selected for their meetings the grounds (*horti*) of some house outside the city.

D. Bruti. Decimus Junius Brutus Gallaeus, consul B.C. 138 with

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. He was one of the most distinguished generals of his time, and fought with great success in Spain. He triumphed over the Gallaeci (B.C. 136) and took the cognomen Gallaeus in honour of his victory.

l. 16. *Commentandi causa*, i.e. to study and practise the augur's art.

Ut adsolet, sc. 'feri.' *Venisseamus*, viz. we augurs.

l. 17. *Qui diligentissime*, &c. 'Though you had always been accustomed most carefully to observe that day and that duty.'

l. 22. *Nec potuisse non commoveri*, &c. 'It was impossible and inconsistent with your gentle character that you should not be affected by it.'

l. 23. *Collegio nostro*. Sc. 'Augurum.'

l. 24. *Valetudinem*. 'Your state of health.' A neutral word. The further idea of *good* or *bad* health must be supplied from the context.

l. 29. *Contingere*: used here of *bad* fortune, as also in De Sen. § 71, 'Quod idem (sc. mori) contingit adolescentibus adversante et repugnante natura.'

l. 31. *Ut mihi videris*. This personal use instead of the more natural 'ut mihi videtur' is common in Cicero. Cf. Ad Att. viii 15. 3, 'Plura scriberem, si ipse possem. Sed, ut mihi videor, potero biduo.'

P. 40, l. 1. *Filii*. For Cato's son see note on De Sen. § 68.

Paulum. L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who lost his two young sons within a few days. See notes on De Sen. §§ 29, 68.

l. 2. *Galum*. C. Sulpicius Galus. See note on De Sen. § 49. Of the circumstances of his son's death we know nothing.

Sed hi in pueris. 'But these men showed their fortitude in the case of mere boys.'

Perfecto et spectato viro, 'a full-grown man of tried worth.' Cicero uses *viro* not *homine* to emphasize the contrast with *pueris*.

l. 3. *Ne—quidem*. The negative is redundant, for *cave anteponas* means 'take care that you do not prefer.'

l. 4. *Huius*, Cato. *Illius*, Socrates. Contrary to the general rule that *hic* refers to the person last-mentioned, *ille* to the person first-mentioned. Cicero here uses *hic* of Cato because he was nearer in date and more closely connected with himself. Cf. § 19, 'cum his.'

l. 5. *Ut iam cum utroque loquar*. 'To speak now to both of you.' Laelius has hitherto used the second person singular, and his words have been addressed to Scaevola alone.

l. 7. *Ego si Scipionis*, &c. 'If I were to deny that I am affected by grief at the loss of Scipio—let the wise men decide how far I am acting rightly in this—but I should at all events not be speaking the truth.' 'Sapientes' esp. the Stoics.

l. 14. *Suis autem incommodis*, &c. 'But to be grievously distressed by his own misfortunes marks one who loves not his friend but himself.'

l. 15. **Cum illo—praeclare.** 'That his fate has been glorious,' lit. 'that he has been dealt with gloriously.' Similarly, we have commonly, 'Bene, male, optime, pessime agere cum . . .'

l. 16. **Quod ille minime putabat.** 'An opinion he by no means held,' namely, 'that immortality was desirable.' The construction is hard. Cicero seems to have written 'quod . . . putabat' as though he intended to complete the sentence 'immortalitatem optandam esse putaret,' in place of which he substitutes the equivalent expression 'optare vellet.'

Immortalitatem here does not mean the existence of the soul after death, but the continuance of life on earth.

l. 19. **Iam** goes with *habuerant* not with *puero*.

Continuo, 'at once.'

l. 21. **Primum ante tempus.** Scipio's first consulship was in B.C. 407, at which time he was only 38 years of age. The legal age for the consulship (by the Lex Villia, B.C. 181) was 43, so that his election was 'ante tempus,' 'before the regular time.' His second consulship was in B.C. 134, by which time he had reached the legal age.

Sibi suo tempore, &c. It was the right time as regards himself, but almost too late for the state. The Roman army in Spain had suffered repeated disasters owing to the incompetence of the generals, and Scipio was elected to the consulship, though not a candidate, in order to restore the fallen fortunes of his countrymen.

l. 22. **Duabus urbibus.** Carthage which he sacked during his first consulship, and Numantia which he captured during his second.

l. 25. **Sorores.** His two sisters married Q. Aelius Tubero and M. Porcius Cato, the son of the censor.

l. 29. **Ut memini Catonem, &c.** To give an air of reality to this dialogue Cicero here refers to the 'De Senectute' as to a conversation which had actually taken place. Similarly, in § 14, he refers to the 'De Republica' in which Scipio was the principal speaker.

l. 31. **Etiam nunc.** *Nunc* is rarely used with a past tense. *Tunc*, however, would have signified the date of the 'De Senectute.'

l. 32. **Vel fortuna vel gloria.** Ablatives of respect. 'Whether in point of fortune or renown.'

l. 33. **Moriundi sensum.** See note on De Sen. § 74.

Quo de genere mortis. 'Concerning a death of this nature,' that is so unexpected as Scipio's. The day before his death Scipio had spoken in the senate against the action of the commissioners appointed under the agrarian law of Tib. Gracchus, and at evening was escorted to his home by a crowd of senators and others. In the morning he was found dead in his bed, and, though no inquiry was made into the cause of his death, it was very generally believed that he had been murdered. The suspicion fell chiefly upon Papirius Carbo, who was one of the three commissioners.

P. 41, l. 4. *Domum reductus*. See note on 'reduci,' De Sen. § 63.

l. 5. *Patribus conscriptis*, 'Senators.' 'Patres conscripti' = 'patres et conscripti,' the 'patres' being the original patrician members of the senate, and the 'conscripti' the additional members chosen probably from the plebeians.

l. 6. *Sociis et Latinis*. To be taken together as forming one member of the enumeration, parallel with the senate and the populace. Otherwise the 'et' would violate the rule, that in an enumeration the conjunction is repeated before *every* term or omitted altogether. 'Socii et Latini' or 'socii nomenque Latinum' is a general name for the whole body of Italian allies, among whom the old Latin municipalities had special rights and privileges.

l. 7. *Ad superos—deos*. 'To those above, that is the gods.' 'Deos' must not be taken with 'inferos.'

l. 9. *Iis* = the Epicureans. *Hæc disserere*, 'to set forth this doctrine.'

l. 12. *Nostrorum*. Placed before 'maiorum,' to emphasize the contrast with the foreign philosophers mentioned afterwards. Similarly, in § 15, we have 'de publica re' for the ordinary 'de re publica,' to emphasize the contrast with 'privata.'

Tam religiosa iura. 'Rights so religiously observed.'

l. 13. *Fecissent—arbitrarentur*. The pluperfect 'arbitrati essent' would have been more regular. We cannot express the difference between these two tenses in English, our idiom having only one form to express both: 'which they would assuredly not have done, if they had thought that nothing had any concern for them.' But the imperfect expresses a continued state, the pluperfect a single action, so that the difference corresponds to that between the perfect and the imperfect indicative, 'quod fecerunt quia arbitrabantur.'

l. 14. *Eorum*, namely the Pythagoreans. See note on De Sen. § 78. *Fuerant*, 'lived.'

l. 16. *Eius*. Socrates. See note on De Sen. § 78.

l. 17. *Cui non tum hoc, tum illud*, sc. 'videbatur,' to be supplied from the following sentence: 'idem Scipioni videbatur.'

Uti plerisque, 'like most men.' The common reading is 'ut in plerisque,' where 'plerisque' must be taken as neuter, 'as in most matters.' For Socrates' arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul, see Plato's 'Phædo.'

l. 18. *Hoc—illud—idem* are all in the Nom. case. We must supply *videbatur* from the following sentence.

l. 20. *Reditum in cælum patere*. Cf. Tusc. Disp. i. 30. 72, 'Qui autem se integros castosque servavissent—essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, a quibus essent perfecti, reditum facilem patere.'

l. 22. *Quasi praesagiret*, used absolutely 'as though he had a foreboding.' For the meaning of the word, cf. Cic. de Div. i. 65, 'Sagire enim sentire acute est: is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est, futura ante scire.'

l. 23. *Philus*. L. Furius Philus was one of the most distinguished members of the Scipionic circle. Cicero commends him for the elegance with which he spoke Latin. He was consul B.C. 136.

Manilius. M'. Manilius, a distinguished jurisconsult, consul in B.C. 149, in which year the 3rd Punic War broke out. Manilius and his colleague were appointed to conduct the war and Scipio served as an officer under them.

Alii plures. *Plures* has its full comparative sense here and is not simply = *complures*. 'Others, more than these.'

l. 24. *Disseruit de re publica*. Cicero again refers to one of his imaginary dialogues as to a real event, see note on § 11, ad fin. The treatise 'De Re Publica,' i.e. on the Ideal State, though known to have been in existence in the tenth century, had been entirely lost until it was discovered written on a Vatican Palimpsest by Angelo Mai in the year 1822. The 'Somnium Scipionis,' which forms part of the Sixth Book, had been preserved entire by Macrobius.

l. 25. *Extremum*, 'the end.' Neut. adj. used as a substantive. Cf. the use of *summum* Caes. B. G. vi. 26, 2, 'ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur.'

Fere must be taken with 'de immortalitate animorum.'

l. 26. *Quae*, a construction grammatically rather loose. The antecedent is *extremum*. There is a very similar construction in De Sen. § 7, 'Saepe enim interfui querelis amicorum meorum, quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus—deplorare solebant.'

In *quiete*, 'during sleep.' *Per visum*, 'in a vision.' *Visum* is neuter participle, used as a substantive, not the accusative of *visus*, *visus*.

Africano, sc. 'maiore,' as the context shows.

l. 29. *Censemus*. We should say in English 'must we think.' Cf. inf. § 24, 'Quid arbitramur in re vera facturos fuisse?'

l. 30. *Quocirca*, &c., 'Wherefore to sorrow for this his doom would show, I fear, envy rather than friendship.'

l. 31. *Ut*, consecutive. 'But if the other theory be more true, and so it follows that,' &c. Cf. above, 'Id si ita est, ut' &c. 'Illa' refers to the Epicurean doctrines = 'haec' of § 13, init.

l. 33. *Fit*. The subject to 'fit' and 'natus esset' must be 'Scipio' and not the indefinite 'one.'

P. 43, l. 2. *Laetabitur*. A stronger word than *gaudere*, implying the outward manifestation of joy. Seyffert quotes Tusc. Disp. iv. 6. 13, 'Cum ratione animus movetur placide atque constanter, tum illud

gaudium dicitur; cum autem inaniter et effuse animus exsultat, tum illa *laetitia* gestiens vel nimia dici potest.

l. 3. *Supra*, here of *time*, = 'Just now.' Strictly, the word is only applicable to writing, and it is possible that Cicero has used it here in error, forgetting that he is not writing in his own person, but quoting a supposed speech of Laelius. But cf. § 48.

l. 4. *Fuerat*, here simply = 'erat,' as frequently in the dramatists and poets. See *Madv. L. G.* § 338, obs. 6. It is not conditional.

Introieram, understand 'in vitam,' from the following 'exire de vita.'

l. 7. *Quocum*, &c. 'With whom I shared my anxiety about matters of state and private affairs, lived in the same house, served the same campaigns, and in whom I found that, wherein consists the whole essence of friendship, a perfect unanimity in aims, tastes, and opinions.'

Publica re, instead of the common *republica* to mark the opposition with 'privata.' Cf. note on § 13, 'nostrorum maiorum.'

l. 12. *Falsa praesertim*, 'especially, since it is unfounded.'

l. 14. *Tria aut quattuor paria*. The three pairs are Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades: to these Damon and Phintias may be added from historical times. Cf. *De Fin.* i. 20. 65, 'In fabulis tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus a Theseo.'

l. 15. *Sperare videor*, 'I think that I may hope.'

l. 18. *Sumus otiosi*. Philosophical pursuits were regarded by the practical Romans merely as the amusement of hours of leisure and were never allowed to interfere with what was to them the serious business of life, namely, public affairs.

l. 21. *Qualem existumes, quae precepta des*, are explanatory of 'quid sentias.' Laelius discusses the nature of friendship in chaps. v-x, and lays down practical rules for its conduct, chaps. xi-xxvi.

l. 22. *Tecum agere*, 'to make this request of you,' cp. § 4, 'cum saepe mecum ageres.'

§§ 17-24. *Laelius gives a brief sketch of his views on Friendship. In the first place Friendship is only possible between good men. And by good men we must understand not the philosopher's ideal, but men of high moral character and practical worth like the old Roman heroes. Nature herself unites all mankind in the bonds of society, but friendship is a closer tie than this natural association. Friendship means entire unanimity coupled with kindness, and is probably the greatest boon conferred by the gods on men, far above riches, health, pleasure, and the other things which many men consider the chief object of life. Virtue, it is true, is the highest good; but virtue creates and implies friendship. The delights and advantages of friendship are innumerable;*

there are no circumstances in which it is not a blessing: it is the ornament of prosperity, the consolation of adversity. Above all it inspires continual hope. It is the foundation of all social life: nay Empedocles asserts that it is principle which keeps the universe together. All men acknowledge its influence, as may be judged by the applause lately given to Pacuvius' tragedy of Orestes.

l. 28. *Doctorum*. 'That custom is for philosophers and those too Greeks, namely, that a subject should be started for them to discuss at the shortest notice.'

l. 31. *His, qui ista profitentur*. The philosophers by profession, the 'docti' of the previous sentence.

P. 43, l. 3. *Neque id ad vivum reseco*, lit. 'nor do I cut this down to the quick,' i. e. I do not insist on too strict a definition of the word 'good.'

l. 4. *Subtilius*, 'with more exactness.' *Illi*, the Stoics.

l. 6. *Eam sapientiam interpretantur*. 'They explain wisdom to be that which,' &c., understanding *esse*. 'eam—quam' is for 'id—quod' by attraction.

l. 8. *Ea quae finguntur aut optantur*, 'The creations of the imagination or the desires.'

l. 10. *Fabripium—Curium—Coruncanium*. See note on De Sen. § 15.

l. 12. *Et invidiosum et obscurum*, 'offensive and unmeaning': 'obscurum' because it has nothing in real existence to correspond to it.

l. 14. *Agamus, &c.*, 'Let us discuss the question therefore with homely mother-wit, as the saying goes.' Horace has the proverb in the form 'crassa Minerva.'

l. 15. *Qui ita se agunt, &c.* 'As for men whose behaviour and life is such that their honour and uprightness, their sense of justice and generosity is made manifest, in whom is no passion, caprice or recklessness, and who are men of strong determination, as those men were, whom I have just named, let us hold that such men, even as they are thought good, should also be called good, inasmuch as they follow, as far as men can, the best guide to a good life, Nature.'

l. 22. *Ut quisque proxime accederet*, sc. 'ad nos.'

l. 24. *Peregrini*, 'foreigners.' *Alieni*, 'strangers,' i. e. all who are not members of our own family.

Cum his, see note on § 10, ad init.

l. 25. *Ea*, sc. 'amicitia,' not 'natura.'

l. 27. *Non potest*. The verb must be repeated in the second clause if in either clause there is a negative, as in § 62, 'posse—non posse'; or we might have 'item' in place of the second verb as in De Off. i. 32. 48: 'Hoc Herculi potuit fortasse contingere, nobis non item.'

l. 32. **Angustum**, adjective, used substantively. Cf. 'extremum,' § 14.

Ut omnis caritas, &c., 'that in every case affection forms a bond between two, or a few persons at the most.'

l. 33. **Iungeretur**. For this use of the imperfect where the English idiom requires the present, see De Sen. § 42, and note, and above, § 19, 'Ita natos esse nos ut esset.'

P. 44, l. 1. **Omnium rerum consensio**, 'an agreement in all things.' Cf. above, § 15, 'Voluntatum, &c., consensio;' and De Sen. § 4, 'Ceterarum rerum sapientia.' See Madvig, L. G. § 283, obs. 3.

l. 6. **Hoc quidem extremum**, sc. 'voluptates praeponere.' 'This last indeed is fit only for brutes: but those former are short-lived and fickle, depending as they do not so much on our own purposes as on the blind hazard of fortune.' **Extremum** may possibly be a substantive = 'summum bonum.' Cf. De Fin. iii. 7. 26, 'Sentio me, quod τέλος Graeci dicunt id dicere tum extremum, tum ultimum, tum summum.'

l. 7. **Posita**. Cf. § 7, 'Omnia tua in te posita esse ducas.'

l. 9. **Praeclare illi quidem**, sc. 'faciunt.' Cf. § 8, 'Recte tu quidem (sc. facis).'

l. 10. **Gignit et continet**, 'creates and maintains.' Cf. § 100, 'Virtus conciliat amicitias et conservat.'

l. 11. **Esse**, emphatic = 'exist.'

Iam virtutem, &c. 'Further let us take our meaning of virtue from the use of our daily life and common talk, not measuring its worth by the grandeur of its definition as certain philosophers do.'

l. 12. **Quidam docti**. The commentators point out that 'docti' is here an attribute of 'quidam,' which is used substantively.

l. 13. **Eos, qui habentur**. Cf. § 19, 'Ut habiti sunt.'

l. 14. **Paulos, &c.**, 'men like Paulus,' &c. Cf. note on De Sen. § 13, 'Scipiones aut Maximi.'

For Paulus, see note on De Sen. § 15; for Cato, Introduction, and De Sen. passim; for Galus, note on De Sen. § 49. The Scipio referred to is doubtless Aemilianus. For Philus, see note on § 14, above.

l. 17. **Opportunitates**. Cicero is fond of the use of the plurals of abstract substantives. 'Opportunitas' is the quality of being 'serviceable.' The plural signifies the display of this quality on many occasions, and in many directions. Cf. De Nat. Deor. iii. 18. 46, 'Immortalitatibus' = the various instances of immortality just mentioned.

Quantas, not the direct object of 'dicere,' but governed by 'habere' (sc. 'amicitiam') understood. If the principal clause had been, e.g. 'Tantis opportunitatibus ornatur,' it would have been followed by 'quantis.'

l. 18. **Vita vitalis** = Gk. βίος βιωτός, 'a life worthy of the name.'

l. 21. **Prosperis rebus**. Another example of the inversion of ad-

jective and substantive to give emphasis to a contrasted adjective. Cf. § 14, 'Nostrorum maiorum,' and § 15, 'De publica re.'

l. 29. **Aqua—igni.** Water and fire are used proverbially (hence 'ut aiunt') to signify the most common necessities of life. Cf. the phrase 'aqua et igni interdicere.'

l. 33. **Qui pauci nominantur.** Cf. § 15, 'Vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum.' In English we should take 'pauci' with 'eorum.' 'Such as was the friendship of those few whose names are quoted (as examples of perfect friendship).'

P. 45, l. 1. **Partiens communicansque,** 'by dividing and sharing them.' 'Communicare,' = to take a common share in anything. Cf. § 24, 'In periculis communicandis.'

l. 3. **Commoditates** = the 'opportunitates' of § 22.

l. 4. **Illa** is most probably ablative case, so that 'amicitia' is the subject of 'praestat,' and 'omnibus' = 'omnibus rebus.' This is better than to make 'illa' nominative (sc. 'commoditas') and 'omnibus' = 'omnibus commoditatibus.' With the latter interpretation the change of subjects for 'contineat—praestat—praelucet' is very harsh. For 'omnibus' = 'omnibus rebus,' Nauck quotes De Nat. Deor. ii. 53. 133. 'Ratio est enim, quae praestet omnibus,' and ibid. ii. 13. 36, 'Quae quoniam talis est, ut et praesit omnibus et eam nulla res possit impedire.'

Bonam spem praelucet, 'sends forth the light of a good hope.' 'Bonam spem' seems to be a kind of 'cognate accusative.'

l. 8. **Elgentes abundant.** According to the maxim, κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

Difficilius dictu, 'a harder saying.' The Latin, like the English, is not strictly correct. The difficulty is not in the saying but the believing.

l. 9. **Mortui vivunt.** Edd. quote the epitaph of Simonides on those who fell at Thermopylae:

οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετῇ καθύπερθε
κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ 'Αἰδέω.

l. 12. **Benevolentiae coniunctionem,** 'the association that springs from good-will.' Cf. 'benevolentiae caritatem,' § 32.

l. 15. **Quae enim domus, &c.** Cf. St. Matthew's Gospel, xii. 25, πᾶσα πόλις ἡ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται.

l. 18. **Agrigentinum quendam.** Laelius is referring to Empedocles, who flourished about 450 B.C. He set forth his physical theories in a poem of about 2000 hexameters ('Graecis carminibus') entitled περὶ φύσεως, which was imitated largely by Lucretius in his De Rerum Natura. He established the number of the four elementary substances, fire, air, water, and earth, out of which the whole universe was created through the operation of the opposing forces of attraction and repulsion, love and hate (νέικος and φιλότης).

l. 19. *Vaticinatum*. The proper word for the inspired utterances of the prophet or seer ('vates').

l. 20. *Quae constant quaeque moverentur*, 'all that was at rest, and all that was in motion.'

l. 24. *Communicandis*. See note on § 22 ad fin.

l. 26. *Cavea*. See note on De Sen. § 48.

M. Pacuvii. Pacuvius (circ. 150 B.C.), one of the most celebrated of Roman tragedians, was a native of Brundisium, and is said to have been the son of Ennius' sister. He early came to Rome, where he distinguished himself both in painting and poetry. He was an intimate friend of Laelius.

Nova fabula. The play was the *Dulorestes*, an adaptation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Cf. De Fin. v. 22. 63, 'Qui clamores vulgi atque imperitorum excitantur in theatris, quum illa dicuntur:

Ego sum Orestes.

contraque ab altero:

Immo enimvero ego sum, inquam, Orestes.'

l. 27. *Rege*. Thoas, king of the Tauric Chersonese.

l. 29. *Stantes plaudebant*, 'they rose to their feet and applauded.' Cf. Suet. Aug. 56, 'Filiis, praetextatis adhuc, assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum questus est.' Cicero seems in this passage to be guilty of an anachronism, as the first permanent theatre at Rome was built by Pompeius. Before its erection the audience stood to witness stage-plays.

In re ficta. See note on 'in pueris,' § 9 ad fin. and cf. 'in altero,' just below.

l. 30. *Arbitramur*. See note on 'censemus,' § 14.

P. 46, l. 3. *Nos vero, &c.*, 'Nay, we would rather hear it from you.' Understand 'quaeremus.'

l. 4. *Aliud quoddam, &c.*, 'the style of your discourse is quite different.' Cf. § 6, 'Alio quodam modo,' = 'after quite a different fashion.'

l. 6. *Si nuper adfuisses*. Cicero seems to have forgotten that he had made Fannius one of the interlocutors in the *De Republica*. See De Re Pub. i. 12. 18. He may however have been absent from the later part of the discussion. Philus' defence of injustice as a necessary instrument of government, and Laelius' reply, fill up the third Book, which is very fragmentary.

l. 8. *Patronus*, 'advocate.'

l. 10. *Iustitiam iustissimo*. For the collocation cf. § 5, 'Ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia.'

l. 12. *Quid amicitiam?* sc. 'defendere.'

§§ 26-32. *Laelius at the request of his sons-in-law continues his discourse and discusses the origin of friendship. He rejects the theory that*

friendship arises from a feeling of weakness and insufficiency, and a sense of the advantages that friends mutually derive from one another. No, the source of friendship is much higher. It is a natural instinct: just as men and even animals love their children by a natural impulse, so a virtuous man naturally feels affection for one in whom he discerns a similar disposition. Unquestionably great benefits and advantages do flow from friendship, but they do not originate it. Did Africanus need help that he should seek Laelius' friendship? No, friendship is not a thing to be bought or sold. The philosophers who refer everything to pleasure, think otherwise, but they are mistaken. Men's interests change, but true friendships are everlasting.

1. 19. Illud, 'the following point.'

1. 21. Meritis = 'beneficiis' or 'officiis.'

Quod is the direct accusative after 'posset.' It is not necessary to suppose an ellipse of *accipere* or *habere*. Seyffert quotes Pro Quint. 21. 69, 'Qui tum et poterant per vim et scelus plurimum et, quod poterant, id audebant.'

Minus = 'non' as in § 23, 'id si minus intelligitur.'

1. 24. Profecta causa. Cf. § 30, 'causae diligendi profectae,' where see note.

1. 25. Princeps est ad, &c., 'leads immediately to the formation of the bond of kindly feeling.'

Benevolentiam coniungendam. See note on 'caritas iungeretur,' § 20.

1. 26. Ab iis, 'from those' not 'by those.'

1. 27. Temporis causa, 'for a special purpose.' 'Tempus,' 'the occasion,' 'the special circumstances.'

1. 28. Fictum contrasted with 'verum,' 'simulatum' with 'voluntarium.'

1. 30. Potius, 'more truly.' Magis, 'in a higher degree.'

1. 31. Adplicatione—cogitatione, do not depend upon 'orta,' but are ablatives of the means. 'Adplicatio' is a ἀπαρ λεγόμενον in this sense, 'a tendency of the mind to lean upon another.'

1. 32. Illa res, 'that connection,' viz. the tie of friendship.

P. 47, l. 1. Natos, masc. (sc. *pullos*).

Ad quoddam tempus. Cf. De Nat. Deor. ii. 51. 129, 'usque ad eum finem dum possint se ipse defendere.'

1. 2. Ita, ut facile, &c., 'so obviously, that their feelings are easily discerned.'

1. 4. Dirimi. 'Dirimere caritatem' a similar redundancy to 'benevolentiam coniungere,' § 26.

1. 5. Similis, i.e. resembling the affection between parents and children.

1. 6. Congruamus, put shortly for 'congruant nostri mores et natura.'

l. 11. *C. Fabricii, M'. Curi*, note on *De Sen.* § 15.

l. 12. *Usurpet.* 'Usurpo' is 'to practise, to perform regularly,' as in § 8, '*officium, quod semper usurpavi.*' Here = 'to keep up the memory.'

l. 13. *Tarquinium Superbum.* The last of the kings of Rome: a type to the Romans of the bloodthirsty tyrant.

l. 14. *Sp. Cassium.* Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, consul in 486 B. C., was the promoter of the first agrarian law. On resigning his office he was put to death, according to some accounts by his own father, on a charge of aiming at kingly power, *Liv. ii. 41*; *Cic. De Rep. ii. 38. 60.*

Sp. Maellum. See note on *De Sen.* § 56.

l. 15. *Pyrrho.* The magnanimity of Pyrrhus was as much a commonplace with Roman writers as the cruelty and perfidy of Hannibal; cf. *De Off. i. 12. 38.* The act which won the admiration of the Romans was the restoration of the Roman prisoners without ransom, in return for Fabricius' noble refusal to listen to the plot against Pyrrhus' life.

l. 17. *Alterum propter crudelitatem, &c.* See note on *De Sen.* § 75, '*crudelissimus hostis.*'

l. 19. *Vel—vel, quod maius est,* 'Even—or, what is more strange.'

l. 21. *Quid mirum est si,* 'What wonder is it that.'

l. 22. *Usu,* 'by familiarity.' Cf. § 76, '*remissione usus.*'

l. 23. *Quamquam, &c.,* 'and yet love is strengthened by the receiving of kindness, by the observing of a liking in others, and by the growth of familiarity.'

l. 27. *Quam si qui, &c.,* 'and if any think that this feeling has its origin in weakness, that each man may have some one through whom to gain what he lacks.'

l. 29. *Generosum ortum,* lit. '*gentle birth.*' Cicero softens the metaphor by adding '*ut ita dicam.*' Cf. *Tusc. Disp. ii. 6. 16,* '*Id quod natura ipsa et quaedam generosa virtus statim respuit.*'

l. 30. *Quam—natam volunt,* 'which they maintain to have sprung, &c.' Cf. *De Sen.* § 73, '*Vult se esse carum suis,*' and note.

l. 31. *Quod si ita esset, &c.* The apodosis begins at '*ut quisque.*' 'If that were so, then, in proportion as a man felt that he had least strength in himself, so would he be most suited for friendship.' Cf. § 46, '*ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet, minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime.*'

Arbitraretur, subjunctive, because it is the subordinate verb of a conditional clause.

P. 48, l. 1. *Sua omnia, &c.* Cf. § 8, '*ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas,*' and see note.

l. 4. *Ac ne ego quidem illius,* 'And neither was I in need of him.'

l. 5. *Virtutis eius,* 'of his virtue.' Cf. § 37, '*illius furoris,*' and *De Sen. 7,* '*quorum multorum.*'

l. 6. *Fortasse non nulla,* 'perhaps not altogether unfavourable.'

l. 10. **Causae diligendi profectae.** For the pleonasm, cf. De Fin. i. 12. 42, 'omnino rerum gerendarum initia proficiscuntur aut a voluptate aut a dolore;' Liv. xxxii. 34. 7, 'Ab illis principium belli ortum est,' and above, § 26.

l. 14. **Ab his,** 'from these opinions.' Neuter like 'similium,' § 50, and De Sen. § 3, 'De ceteris.'

Pecudum ritu, 'like brute beasts.' Cf. § 20, 'Beluarum hoc quidem extremum.'

Ad voluptatem omnia referunt, 'measure all things by the standard of pleasure.'

l. 17. **Contemptam,** 'contemptible,' as in De Sen. 27, 'Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior, quam Milonis Crotoniatae?'

l. 20. **Benevolentiae caritatem.** See note on 'benevolentiae conjunctionem,' § 23.

l. 25. **Certatio.** The contest which can confer the most benefits on the other.

l. 27. **Nam si, &c.,** 'For if it were expediency that cemented friendships, a change in expediency would in turn ('eadem') break them up.' **Conglutinaret.** Cf. De Sen. § 72.

l. 30. **Nisi quid ad haec, &c.** Laelius is about to pass on to the next division of his subject, but pauses and says 'unless perhaps you wish to say something on this question.'

l. 31. **Tu vero perge,** 'No, pray go on.' Cf. De Or. i. 24. 113, 'Tu vero, inquit, Antoni, perge, ut instituisti.'

l. 32. **Meo iure,** 'as I have a right,' being the elder.

l. 33. **Recte tu quidem.** Cf. § 8, and note.

§§ 33-35. *Scipio thought it a marvellous thing that friendships ever continued unbroken until the end of life, when there were so many accidents which tended to break them: such as change of interests or political opinions, quarrels about matrimony, political contests, which were as frequent a source of disagreement to the nobler minds, as the love of money to the baser. Lastly, a refusal to comply with an unrighteous request from a friend, tended to shatter friendship.*

P. 49, l. 4. **Nam vel ut, &c.,** 'For it often occurred that their interests changed, or their opinions about politics.'

l. 7. **Aetate ingravescente,** 'through the growing burden of old age.' Cf. De Sen. § 6, 'quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.'

l. 9. **Praetexta toga.** A robe with a purple border worn by children until about their fifteenth year when they assumed the *toga virilis*. See note on § 1.

l. 10. **Perduxissent,** sc. 'puerī amōres.' Cf. De Sen. § 60, 'M. quidem

Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse' (sc. 'agri colendi studia').

l. 11. *Uxoriae conditionis*. 'Conditio' even without 'uxoria' is the common word for a 'match.'

Commodi alicuius, 'Some other advantage.' Cf. Caes. de B. G. vi. 16. 5, 'in furto aut in latrocinio aut in aliqua noxa,' and inf. § 84, 'nec amicitiam nec ullam rem expetendam.'

l. 13. *Longius proveci essent*, sc. 'aetate,' 'had lived on into later life.' In *amicitia*, 'without breaking their friendship.'

Labefactari. The subject is 'amicitia.' There is exactly the same change in the preceding sentence, from 'perduxissent' to 'dirimi.'

l. 14. *Honoris contentionem*, 'A struggle for office.'

l. 16. *Optimis quibusque*. The plural is very rare. The best explanation of its use here is that it refers to the different sets or pairs of friends. Compare the use of *utrique* = 'both sets of people,' *alteri* = 'the other party.'

l. 17. *Ex quo*. The antecedent is not 'certamen' but the whole sentence 'pestem—gloriae.' Translate, 'and owing to this fact the most violent enmities often sprang up between the greatest friends.' The sentence 'ex quo—exstitisse' is really co-ordinate with the previous sentences, for which reason the verb is in the infinitive, not the subjunctive. See Madvig L. G. 403 a.

l. 21. *Quamvis honeste, &c.*, 'However honourable their intentions were.'

l. 24. *Omnia* = 'anything,' like 'quidvis' above.

l. 27. *Subterfugere*, 'to escape from beneath,' used appropriately after 'impendere.'

§§ 36-43. This brings us to the question, 'How far ought a man to go in obedience to the claims of friendship?' Ought the friends of Coriolanus, Sp. Cassius, and Maelius to have supported them in their unpatriotic conduct? Certainly not. We have an example in C. Blossius of the madness to which such compliance may lead. It is not as though we had to do with men of perfect wisdom. Fabricius and men like him were as incapable of asking a friend to commit an unpatriotic or dishonourable action as they were of committing it themselves. But as we have to deal with ordinary men, we must lay it down as a law that no friend should expect another to do what is dishonourable, nor do what is dishonourable at the request of another. The Republic has already suffered from the unpatriotic conduct of its citizens, and worse times are at hand. We must abandon our friends if they show signs of disaffection, as Themistocles and Coriolanus were abandoned.

l. 30. *Numme*. This form of the interrogative particle is found also De Nat. Deor. i. 88, 'quid? deum ipsum numme vidisti?'

Coriolanus. Cn. Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus for his brilliant capture of the town of Corioli, after being banished from Rome on account of his resistance to the demands of the commons led an army of the Volsci against his mother country and was only induced to abstain from sacking the city by the prayers of his mother and wife. See Liv. ii. 39 sq.

1. 32. *Viscellinum*, sc. 'Sp. Cassium.' For Cassius and Maelius, see note on § 28, and De Sen. § 56.

P. 50, l. 1. *Tuberone*. Q. Aelius Tubero was the son of Aemilia, who was daughter of L. Aemilius Paullus and sister of Africanus Minor. He was a disciple of Panaetius, and was so ardent a philosopher that he was known by the name of 'The Stoic.' He was tribune of the people in 133 B.C., the year of Tib. Gracchus' death.

1. 2. C. Blossius of Cumae an intimate, friend of Tib. Gracchus, and his constant adviser during the struggles which accompanied the passing of the agrarian law. After Tiberius' death, to avoid the cruel inquisition of the consuls of 132 B.C., Laenas and Rupilius, he fled to the court of Aristonicus, king of Pergamus. Soon afterwards he put an end to his own life, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

1. 4. *Aderam in consilio*, 'I used to sit as an assessor with.' Laelius as one of the leaders of the aristocratic party would be the natural adviser of the consuls in their prosecution of the partisans of Gracchus.

Laenati et Rupilio. Consuls B.C. 132. It was against Laenas (P. Popilius) that C. Gracchus was aiming when he proposed the impeachment of magistrates who had condemned citizens without trial. Laenas, who had shewn great cruelty and injustice in his prosecution of the followers of Tiberius, avoided punishment by a voluntary exile. P. Rupilius was an intimate friend of Scipio's (see below § 73). Scipio's influence gained him the consulship, but could not do the same for his brother Lucius in the following year.

1. 7. *Etiamne*, sc. 'ita putares.'

1. 9. *Quam nefaria vox!* Probably an interjection, and not dependent on 'videtis,' so that the verb understood is 'est' not 'sit.' Cf. § 96, 'Meministis quam popularis lex videbatur.'

1. 12. *Illius furoris*, 'that man's mad folly.' Cf. note on 'virtutis eius,' § 30.

Itaque, &c., 'thus being in this state of frenzy he fled into Asia through terror of the newly established court.' *Hae amentia*, a descriptive ablative. *Quaestione nova*, the court of inquiry into the proceedings of Tiberius Gracchus and his party. The asyndeton *profugit—contulit—persolvit* is significant of the haste and confusion of Blossius' movements.

1. 16. *Virtutis opinio*, 'belief in your virtue.'

1. 19. *Perfecta quidem, &c.*, 'provided we were men of perfect

wisdom the arrangement would involve no fault.' 'Sapientia si simus, nihil,' &c. So Madvig for the MS. reading, 'Sapientia simus, si nihil,' &c., which is perhaps right. 'We should indeed be men of consummate wisdom, if the arrangement brought no wrong with it.'

l. 22. *Ex hoc numero = ex horum numero.* See note on 'cam mentionem,' § 3.

l. 25. *Aemilius Luscino.* Q. Aemilius Papus and C. Fabricius Luscinus were consuls together in 282 and 278, and censors 275 B.C. For Fabricius, see note on De Sen. § 16.

l. 28. *Ne suspicari quidem*, i.e. 'much less can we believe.'

l. 30. *Quod contra fidem, &c.* Cf. De Offic. iii. 10. 43, 'At neque contra rem publicam neque contra ius iurandum ac fidem amici causa vir bonus faciet.'

P. 51, l. 2. *O. Carbo.* C. Papirius Carbo was one of the foremost of the supporters of Tiberius Gracchus. On the death of the latter, Carbo was appointed to the vacant place of *triumvir agrorum dividendorum*. In B.C. 131 he was elected tribune of the people, and during his year of office proposed two laws, 1. That the same man might be re-elected tribune of the people as often as the people chose. 2. A *lex tabellaria*, by which it was decreed that the people should vote by ballot in the enactment and repeal of laws. The first law was rejected through the determined opposition of Scipio and Laelius (cf. § 96). Carbo continued his support of the popular party during the lifetime of C. Gracchus, but after his death tried to win the favour of the aristocracy by undertaking the defence of Opimius, who was charged with the murder of C. Gracchus and a number of his followers. This unprincipled conduct did not however save him. He was accused by the young orator L. Licinius Crassus, and to escape conviction put an end to his life. Cicero frequently commemorates his great talent and brilliant oratory, but shows a just detestation of his want of principle. He was consul in B.C. 120.

O. Cato, a younger son of M. Porcius Cato Licinianus, the eldest son of Cato the censor, who was married to Aemilia, daughter of L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus. C. Cato was consul B.C. 114. In B.C. 110 he was accused of taking a bribe from Jugurtha, and fled to Spain.

Minime qualifies 'acer,' to be supplied from 'acerrimus.' Mr. Reid translates the whole sentence, 'But truly Tib. Gracchus had as his partisans C. Carbo, C. Cato, and his own brother Gaius, who then was not very zealous, though now exceedingly so.'

l. 3. *Idem*, 'on the other hand.' Cf. Madvig, L. G. § 488.

l. 4. *Sanciatur.* 'Sancire' the technical word for giving binding force or 'sanction' to an enactment. This was done, either by solemn oath of the people 'obtestatio legis,' or by fixing the penalty to be inflicted on the breaker of the law 'capitis consecratio.' Cf. Pro Balbo, xiv. 33.

l. 8. *Ut nos, &c.*, 'that it is our duty to look out from afar for the disasters that are likely to fall upon the state.' 'Nos' = 'Romanos,' not Laelius and his son-in-law.

l. 9. *Deflexit iam, &c.*, 'the custom of our ancestors has already swerved considerably from its old course and path.' This refers to the concessions which the senatorial party had been forced to grant to the supporters of Tib. Gracchus.

l. 12. *Paucos menses*, namely, after procuring the vote of the people by which M. Octavius Caecina was deprived of his tribuneship.

l. 14. *Quid in P. Scipione effecerint*. For the manner of Scipio's death, which Laelius here distinctly lays to the charge of the democratical party, see note on § 12, '*Quo de genere mortis, &c.*' The majority of editors however refer these words not to the death of P. Scipio Africanus, but to the banishment of P. Scipio Nasica Serapio, son of P. Scipio Nasica Corculum. (See note on *De Sen.* § 50.) Scipio Nasica was a violent aristocrat, and is chiefly remarkable for his violent opposition to Tib. Gracchus. He was the leader of the senatorial party in the riot in which Gracchus was killed, and his conduct on that occasion made him so unpopular at Rome that the senate gave him a pretended mission to Asia to remove him from danger, although he was *pontifex maximus*, and ought not, therefore, to have left Italy. He died shortly after his departure at Pergamum.

l. 16. *Propter recentem poenam Ti. G.* The aristocracy dared not further incense the populace by the punishment of Carbo, while the irritation that followed the murder of Gracchus still prevailed so strongly.

De C. Gracchi tribunatu. The supposed date of this dialogue is 129 B.C. C. Gracchus did not become tribune till 123 B.C. We must suppose that Laelius is thinking of the growing popularity of Gracchus, which showed that before long he would be called upon to take the position of leader of the popular party.

l. 18. *Serpit deinde res*, 'next an institution is creeping in, which, when once it begins to move, glides with increasing speed on the path to ruin.'

I take *deinde* as referring back to the sentence '*deflexit—maiorum.*' The first downward step was the domination of Tib. Gracchus, which is likely to be repeated whenever C. Gracchus is elected tribune. The second is the gradual introduction of the ballot. The mischief began with the Gabinian and Cassian laws, and the late enactment of Carbo cannot fail in the end to produce enmity between the different orders, and the eventual ruin of the Republic.

Cum semel coepit, sc. '*labi*' understood from '*labitur.*'

l. 19. *In tabella*, 'on the question of the ballot,' lit. 'in the matter of the voting-tablet.'

Iam ante, i.e. previously to the introduction of the *Lex Papiria Tabellaria* (B.C. 131) which enacted that the people should use the ballot in the enactment and repeal of laws. See note on C. Carbo, § 39 ad fin.

l. 20. Gabinia lege. This law, proposed by the tribune A. Gabinus, (B.C. 139) substituted the ballot for open voting in the election of magistrates.

Cassia. This law was proposed by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, tribune of the plebs, B.C. 137. It extended the use of the ballot to the juries in the criminal courts. Cassius was noted for his great severity as a 'iudex,' so that he was called 'scopulus reorum,' and 'iudices Cassiani' became a proverb. He was the author of the maxim 'Cui bono?'

l. 24. Sociis. Cicero refuses to men associated for such evil ends the name of *amici*.

l. 29. Impletatis. 'Impius,' the common epithet of one who takes up arms against his fellow-countrymen. Cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 612, 'Arma secuti impia,' and Georg. i. 511, 'Mars impius,' and De Off. iii. 1, 'Armis impiis.'

l. 33. Fecit idem. Themistocles fled to the court of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and engaged with him in schemes for the subjugation of Greece, much as Coriolanus in his exile conspired with the Volsci for the destruction of Rome.

Viginti annis. The banishment of Coriolanus from Rome occurred in 491 B.C., that of Themistocles from Athens 471 B.C.

P. 52, l. 2. Itaque = 'atque ita,' as in § 46 infra 'itaque ut quisque,' &c.

Mortem sibi uterque consolvit. Livy ii. 40 declares that there were various accounts of the end of Coriolanus, and that Fabius, the most ancient authority, stated that he lived in exile to a great age. Similarly Thucydides i. 38 says that Themistocles died of disease, though there were some who thought that he had committed suicide by poison.

l. 4. Excusatione amicitiae, 'by urging friendship as an excuse.'

l. 9. Sit here serves both as auxiliary verb with 'futura' in the first clause, and as the substantive verb in the second. Somewhat similar is Pope's

'Man never is, but always to be blest.'

§§ 44-48. *This then is our first law for friendship, that all we ask from our friends and all we do for them must be consistent with honour. Further, we must always be ready freely to give and take advice and reproof. Some Greeks say that we must shun too warm friendships, in order to avoid being involved in the sorrows of our neighbours.*

Others, again, say that friendships are only formed for the sake of the assistance and support we derive from others. These theories are fatal to friendship. Freedom from all emotion is not a desirable thing: at all events it is incompatible with virtue, and would degrade man below the level of brutes.

l. 13. **Plurimum—pareatur.** This point is treated at length in §§ 89-90.

l. 15. **Non modo—acriter,** 'not only frankly, but even sternly.'

l. 19. **Partim,** answered by 'Alios,' an anacoluthon of a kind frequent in Cicero. 'Partim' refers to 'mirabilia quaedam'; 'Alios' to 'quibusdam.'

Fugiendas esse. Cf. Euripides, Hippolytus, 253 sqq.—

χρὴν γὰρ μετρίως εἰς ἀλλήλους
φιλίας θνητοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι,
καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς,
εὐλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν,
ἀπὸ τ' ὥσασθαι καὶ ξυντεῖναι.
τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ δισσῶν μίαν ὠδίνειν
ψυχὴν χαλεπὸν βάρος, ὡς καὶ γὰρ
τῆσδ' ὑπερὰ γῶ.

* * *

οὕτω τὸ λίαν ἥσσον ἐπαινώ
τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν·
καὶ ξυμφήσουσι σοφοί μοι.

Nimias amicitias, 'too warm friendships,' not 'too many friendships.' What these philosophers wish to provide against is, that a man should be so attached to his friend as to feel his friend's sorrows as keenly as if they were his own.

l. 20. **Satis superque,** 'each man has of his own troubles enough and more than enough for himself,' ('sibi'). This seems to be the simplest way of taking the sentence. It is possible, however, that 'sibi suarum' is an example of the redundant 'suus sibi,' found commonly in Plautus, e.g. 'Captivi' Prol. 50, 'suo sibi servit patri.' Cf. Terence, Ad. 958, 'Suo sibi gladio hunc iungulo,' and § 11 supra, 'Sibi suo tempore,' which is perhaps a parallel instance.

l. 24. **Caput,** 'the chief point,' 'the most important consideration.' Cf. De Or. ii. 82. 337, 'Ad consilium autem de re publica dandum caput est nosse rempublicam.'

Securitatem, 'freedom from care.'

l. 25. **Parturiat.** A translation of ὠδίνειν in the passage quoted above from Euripides. 'Tamquam' softens the metaphor, which is much more violent in Latin than in Greek.

l. 26. **Alios,** e.g. the Cyrenaics, who referred all things to the standard of pleasure.

l. 27. *Quem locum, &c.*, 'a topic which I touched upon briefly a little time ago.'

l. 29. *Expetendas—adpetere*. 'Adpetere' is used of the natural desires, *ἐπιθυμία*: 'expetere' of deliberate choice, *προαίρεσις*.

l. 31. *Mulierculae*, 'weak women.' The diminutive form is often used to express pity or contempt. Cf. *De Legg.* i. 2. 7, 'Macri loquacitas habet aliquid argutiarum, nec id tamen ex illa erudita Graecorum copia, sed ex *librariolis* Latinis,' and *Ad Attic.* ii. 23, 'recreandae *voculae* causa,' 'my wretched voice.'

P. 53, l. 2. *Habemus* = 'accepimus,' as frequently in Cicero. Cf. *De Off.* i. 21. 71, 'Qui habent a natura adiumenta rerum gerendarum'; *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 36. 86, 'Omnem prosperitatem vitae a dis habere.'

l. 3. *Blanda*, 'seductive.' Note the jingle (*Homoioteleuton*) in 'blanda—repudianda.' Cf. § 3, 'interponeretur—videretur.'

l. 4. *Reapse*, 'in fact,' opposed to 'specie' as in Gk. *ἐργῶ* to *λόγῳ*. 'Reapse' = *re capse*, i.e. *re ipsa*; *ipse* in early Latin attaching the case-endings to the first element in its composition. Similar forms, e.g. 'eumpse,' 'eampse,' 'eopse,' are found in Plautus. Vide *Madv. L. G.* § 82, 4 obs.

Multis locis, 'on many grounds.'

Consentaneum, 'consistent,' namely with the fact that 'the position or course of action rejected' is 'honesta.'

l. 6. *Quod si, &c.*, 'But if we are to shun distress, we must shun virtue, which must involve some distress in rejecting and loathing the things which are its opposites.'

l. 9. *Temperantia—fortitudo*. Chiasmus.

l. 14. *Arbitramur* = 'we must suppose,' as 'fugimus' l. 7, and 'arbitramur' § 24.

l. 15. *Aliquas*, 'some.' Friendship brings with it a certain amount of annoyance ('*aliquas molestias*'). The desire of avoiding this certain amount is not a sufficient reason for avoiding friendships altogether.

l. 19. *Isti*, i.e. the Stoics, whose theory of *ἀπάθεια* Cicero is refuting in this section.

l. 22. *Diffundatur—contrahatur*. The subject is 'virtus,' which is equivalent here to 'animus virtute praeditus.' The mind, according to the Stoics, *expands* (*διαχεῖται*) with pleasure, and *contracts* (*συστέλλεται*) with pain.

l. 24. *Non plus quam, &c.* A brief expression for 'non plus quam valent curae et molestiae, quas nonnullas afferunt virtutes, ut ipsae virtutes repudientur.'

§§ 48–51. *A few remarks on the theory that utility is the foundation of friendship. Friendship certainly is one of the most delightful things in the world, but it is the result of a natural inclination of the mind*

not of a calculation of advantage. Those who think friendship is founded on expediency rob it of its chief charm. The sum of the matter is that friendship is the source of utility, not utility of friendship.

l. 27. **Contrahat.** According to Seyffert the subject is the whole clause 'si qua significatio virtutis eluceat.' Mr. Reid thinks that the indefinite 'quis' is understood. I would suggest that the subject is to be found in 'similis animus,' which from its meaning must follow 'significatio virtutis,' not precede it in the sentence. We may paraphrase the sentence thus: 'Since a virtuous mind forms a friendship whenever there is a manifestation of *similar* virtue, to which it may incline and attach itself,' &c.

Supra. Cf. note on § 15.

l. 28. **Eluceat.** Cf. § 27, 'quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis.'

l. 31. **Honore—corporis.** These words must be taken in two pairs: 'honore—gloria' represent the aims of the nobler minds, the 'optimi quique' of § 34; 'aedificio—vestitu cultuque corporis' the aims of the vulgar. Cf. § 19, 'fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas,' and Mr. Reid's note on the passage. Observe the chiasmus 'delectari multis inanibus rebus—animante non admodum delectari.'

l. 32. **Animante.** *Animans* is generally feminine: in the plural sometimes also neuter. But when it is used to signify expressly a human being as here, it is masculine.

l. 33. **Bedamare,** a word formed by Cicero to translate *ἀντιφαλεῖν*. It is not found elsewhere. For the apologetic 'ut ita dicam' cf. note on 'quasi,' De Sen. § 47.

P. 54, l. 5. **Similitudo.** The second half of the comparison is not parallel to the first. Cicero uses 'similitudo' as though he had said 'there is no quality of things which attracts them to one another so surely as similarity attracts two minds to friendship.' The second branch of the comparison to be parallel to the first should have run 'quam similis animus ad se (or ad amicitiam secum contrahendam) similem animum ipsa similitudine attrahit.' Strictly 'similitudo' ought to be in the acc. case, but it is attracted into the case of the relative 'quod.'

Verum esse ut. The subject of 'verum esse' is the clause 'nihil esse—similitudo,' and not the sentence beginning with 'ut,' which expresses the consequences which follow from the admission of the truth of the former proposition. Cf. § 14, 'sin autem illa veriora, ut.' Translate, 'it will I suppose be granted that it is true, and that consequently the good love the good and adopt them as being bound to them by a kind of relationship and natural tie.'

l. 7. **Similium,** neuter. Cf. note on 'ab his,' § 32. Cf. De Or. ii. 65. 262, '*gravium autem et iocorum unam esse materiam*,' and *ibid.* ii.

26. 111, 'Ambiguorum autem plura genera sunt' with other instances quoted by Nägelsbach, § 24. 2.

l. 9. *Constet, ut opinor*, 'we may, I think, take this for granted.'

Necessariam benevolentiam, 'esse' omitted.

l. 10. *Qui*. Attracted into the gender of 'fons.' Cf. note on De Sen. § 35.

l. 12. *Inmunis*. Strictly used of a citizen who shirks his duties towards the state (*munia*), Gk. ἀπαρῆμων. Translate, 'inactive.' Cf. Verg. Geo. iv. 244, 'Immunisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus.'

l. 13. *Quae* = 'cum ea.'

l. 23. *Atque haud sciam*, &c., 'And yet I am inclined to think it would not even be advantageous that friends should never lack anything at all.'

§§ 52-55. *We must not regard the opinions of men steeped in luxury and ignorant of true friendship. They are like tyrants who from their very circumstances cannot have any sincere friends. Prosperity has an evil effect on the character: what could be more foolish than to strive eagerly after all possessions, except the most desirable of all—friendship.*

l. 28. *Delictis diffuentes*, 'Enervated by luxury.' Cf. De Offic. i. 30. 106, 'Intellegemus, quam sit turpe diffuere luxuria.' Ter. Haut. v. 1. 73, 'animum qui nunc luxuria et lascivia diffluit.'

l. 29. *Quam nec usu*, &c., 'Of which they have no knowledge either practical or theoretical.' For 'Habent cognitam' see Roby Lat. Gr. § 1402, and cf. § 97, 'nihil exploratum habeas.'

l. 31. *Ut neque*, &c., 'without either loving any one, or being loved by any one.' 'Ut,' lit. 'on condition that.'

P. 55, l. 1. *Nimirum*, &c., 'That is to say a life in which,' &c. 'Ni-mirum' short for 'nisi mirum est.' Cf. Plaut. Pseud. 1213, 'Tu, nisi mirum est, leno, plane perdidisti mulierem.'

l. 2. *Omnia suspecta*. For the neuter cf. Pro Quint. ii. 10, 'cum ei omnia inimica atque infesta fuerint,' and Eur. Med. 16, *ῥῆν δ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα*.

l. 5. *Coluntur*, sc. 'tyranni.' *Simulatione*, &c., 'but only by pretence for a season.' Cf. § 26, 'qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa.' On 'Dumtaxat' Mr. Reid says: 'Dumtaxat in the best writers is merely corrective, introducing an exception upon some word or words preceding, here on *coluntur*.' Taxat is probably a subjunctive of the lost Latin aorist (here the weak aorist) from *tangere*, a form of *tongere* (G. *denken*, 'think'). The formation of 'dumtaxat' will be then practically the same as that of λέξω. For the dropping of the nasal, cf. σφίγγω, ἑσφίξα; θιγγάνω, θίξω. The original meaning of 'dumtaxat' would thus be 'provided one knows the matter.'

l. 10. *Illa superbia*, 'Being a man of such pride,' abl. of quality = 'cum illa esset superbia.' Cf. note on § 37, 'Hac amentia.'

l. 13. *Non enim solum, &c.* Cf. Schol. on Theocritus, Idyll ix. 19, who quotes a verse of Menander, ὁ πλοῦτος τυφλὸν, τυφλὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβλέποντας δεικνύει.

l. 16. *Insapiente fortunato*, 'a fool favoured by fortune.' 'Insapient' is here used as a substantive just as 'sapient' is so frequently. Cf. Madvig, L. G. § 301, a. obs.

l. 18. *Imperio, potestate*, 'Military and civil authority.' Cf. § 63, 'Imperia, potestates.'

l. 19. *Immutari, sperni, indulgeri*. For the change of subject with these infinitives, cf. De Sen. § 63, 'salutari, appeti, decedi, asurgere,' &c.

l. 25. *Istorum* = 'istarum rerum.' Cf. note on 'Similium,' § 50.

§§ 56-60. Before defining the right attitude of friends to one another, Laelius discusses three opinions commonly held about Friendship. 1. We should feel towards our friends as we do towards ourselves. 2. That our kindness to them should match their kindness to us: 3. That a man should be held by his friends in the same estimation as he holds himself. To the first Laelius objects that a man may honourably do many things for his friends that he could not do for himself: to the second that it is altogether degrading friendship to reduce it to a question of profit and loss. The third is worst of all. The humble-minded and low-spirited man requires to be supported and encouraged by his friend. Another opinion strongly condemned by Scipio was the maxim of Bias, that a man should treat his friend, as though he were one day to become his enemy.

l. 30. *Constituendi, &c.* A confusion of the two constructions, 'constituendum est, qui sint fines,' and 'constituendi sunt fines.' Cf. § 63, 'quidam perspicuntur quam sint leves.'

l. 31. *Sententias ferri*. 'Sententiam ferre' is 'to deliver or express an opinion.'

P. 56. l. 1. *Pariter aequaliterque*, 'Pariter' = 'to the same extent,' 'aequaliter,' 'in like fashion.' Cf. § 32, 'pares et aequales,' where we may make the same distinction between quantitative and qualitative equality.

l. 3. *Nulli prorsus*, to be taken together 'none at all.' Cf. De Nat. Deor. i. 14. 37, 'nusquam prorsus,' and ibid. iii., 'nullo modo prorsus assentior.'

l. 4. *Nec illa vera ut*. Cf. note on § 57, 'verum esse ut.'

l. 6. *Nostra causa—causa amicorum*. Note the chiasmus. Baiter strikes out the second 'causa' as superfluous. Cicero would certainly

more often omit it. Cf. § 46 above, 'praesidii adiumentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis.'

l. 8. *Aerbius invehi—insectari vehementius.* Chiasmus.

l. 12. *Sententia quae definit.* Seyffert quotes Caes. De Bello Civili, ii. 30. 1, 'Erant sententiae, quae conandum omnibus modis censerent,' and Livy ii. 4. 3, 'cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae reddenda censebat bona,' and De Sen. § 32, 'proverbio, quod monet.'

l. 14. *Ad calculos vocare,* 'To bring to a reckoning.' 'Calculi' are the pebbles or small counters with which the ancients used to make their calculations upon a board covered with sand (abacus). Cf. Livy v. 4. 7, 'si ad calculos eum res publica vocet.'

Ut par sit ratio, &c., 'That the account of receipts and disbursements may balance.'

l. 18. *Excidat—defluat—congeratur.* All metaphors from the measurement of goods for sale. 'Excidat' and 'congeratur' are strictly appropriate to dry, 'defluat' to liquid measure.

l. 21. *Abiectior,* 'somewhat dejected.'

l. 24. *Iacentem,* 'downcast.' Cf. De Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 50, 'Hominem afflictum ac iacentem.'

l. 27. *Ullam quam eius.* Cf. § 4 above, 'nulla aptior persona quam eius.'

l. 29. *Esset osurus.* The subject is the indefinite 'one' to be supplied from the unexpressed subject of 'amare oportere.' Cf. Caecil. ap. Cic. de Sen. § 25, 'Quod diu vivendo multa quae non vult videt,' and note.

l. 30. *Quem ad modum putaretur, sc. 'dictum esse.'* The sentiment of Bias 'ὡς δεῖ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα καὶ μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντα' is often quoted in Greek literature. Cf. Soph. Ajax 677 sqq. :—

ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐ γνωσόμεθα σωφρονεῖν;
ἐγὼ δ', ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ἀρτίως ὅτι
ὃ τ' ἐχθρὸς ἡμῖν ἐς τοσόνδ' ἐχθαρτέος,
ὡς καὶ φιλήσων αὖθις· ἐς τε τὸν φίλον
τοσαύτ' ὑπουργῶν ὠφελεῖν βουλήσομαι,
ὡς αἰὲν οὐ μενοῦντα.

Biante. Bias of Priene in Ionia lived about the middle of the sixth century B.C. His title to rank as a sage was earned not from philosophy in our sense, but from a kind of practical wisdom, which exhibited itself in such short maxims and proverbs as the one we are considering. His name is one of the four which are universally included in the list of the seven sages.

l. 31. *Unus e septem.* Cf. note on § 7.

l. 32. *Revocantis.* 'Revocare' = 'referre' in § 32, 'ad voluptatem omnia referunt.' Cf. 'ad calculos vocare,' § 58 above.

P. 57, l. 7. *Illud potius, &c.* Seyffert quotes a saying of Solon

given by Diogen. Laert. i. 60, φίλους μὴ ταχὺ πῶς οὐκ ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε, and Isocr. ad Demon. 9. 2, βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίγνουν, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν.

1. 10. In *deligendo*, 'in choosing' = 'in amicis deligendis,' § 62 below.

§§ 61-66. *These limits may be laid down for friendship. So long as our friends are men of high character, we may depart somewhat from the strict path of duty in order to help them in any sore necessity, provided we avoid extreme baseness. At the same time we should not despise the good opinion of our fellow-citizens. Scipio used to lament that men were more negligent in choosing their friends than in any other matter. A wise man forms friendships slowly, and only when he has tested those whom he is going to make his friends. The sharpest test of friendship is rivalry in politics; after that comes loss of fortune. These are the qualities we should look for in a friend. He should be faithful, single-minded, courteous, sympathetic, not given to scandal, with a certain sweetness of conversation and character.*

1. 13. *Emendati*, 'free from faults.'

1. 16. *Qua fortuna*, ablative as in § 42, 'aliquo casu.'

1. 17. *Aut caput agatur aut fama*, 'Their existence or position as citizens is at stake,' i.e. they are in danger of incurring either 'capitis diminutio' or 'infamia.' 'Caput' does not necessarily imply that his life was at stake. See Ramsay, p. 83: 'The *caput* of an individual in the legal phraseology of the Romans denoted his personal privileges as a free man, as a member of a family, and as the possessor of certain political rights: his *status* was the position which he occupied in the community by virtue of his *caput*. Hence the expressions *crimen capitale*, *iudicium capitis*, *poena capitalis* do not necessarily imply a charge, a trial, or a penalty, in which the life of an individual was at stake, but one which involved the forfeiture or abridgment of his political and social rights.' *Infamia* was a legal condition not far different from, but not entirely similar to 'capitis diminutio.' It was the consequence of certain disgraceful acts, and involved loss of certain political rights. The *Infamis* became an *Aerarius* and lost the *suffragium* and *honores*.

1. 18. *Declinandum de via*. Aulus Gellius (Noct. Att. i. 3. 14), criticizing this passage and comparing Cicero's treatment of the question with that of Theophrastus, complains of Cicero's vagueness:—'*sed cuiusmodi declinatio esse ista debeat qualisque ad adinandum digressio et in quanta voluntatis amici iniquitate, non dicit.*'

1. 20. *Nec vero, &c.*, 'But, for all that, we must not neglect reputation, nor ought we to consider the good will of our fellow citizens an

unimportant weapon for the management of business; which goodwill it is disgraceful to try to win by wheedling and flattery; still virtue, which is always followed by affection, is by no means to be rejected.' The argument here is that although we are anxious to do our best for our friends we must still not disregard public opinion, which is a statesman's greatest support. Although it is disgraceful to try and win popular favour by base means, it is not so when we strive to attain to it by virtue, which always brings affection in its train.

l. 24. *Cuius omnis sermo, &c.*, 'from whom entirely proceeded the discourse concerning friendship'; *not* 'whose whole discourse was of friendship.' [Reid.]

l. 29. *Signa quaedam et notas* = κριτήριον. Nägelsbach, Stil. § 1, p. 19. With the whole passage Lahmeyer compares Xen. Memor. ii. 4. 4, ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅρων ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων, καὶ πάντων πολλῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων, τὸ πλῆθος εἰδότας, τῶν δὲ φίλων, ὀλίγων ὄντων, τὸ πλῆθος ἀγνοοῦντας.

P. 58, l. 2. *Quo utamur, &c.*, 'so that, as we use horses when they have been broken in, so we may enjoy friendship, after we have to a considerable extent tested the characters of our friends,' or as we should say 'as we do not use horses *until*, &c., so we may not enjoy friendship until, &c.' 'Quo' = 'ut eo.'

l. 3. *Quasi*—*sic* for 'ut—sic.' Cf. Ad Fam. ix. 16. 2, 'ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspicui possit.'

Periclitatis. Deponent participle in *passive* sense.

l. 4. *Quidam perspicuntur, &c.* Cf. note on § 56, 'Constituendi autem sunt qui sint in amicitia fines,' &c.

In parva pecunia, 'In the case of a small sum of money,' i. e. where the neglect of friendship would enable them to gain even a small sum.

l. 10. *Ius amicitiae*, 'the just claims of friendship.'

l. 11. *Multo*. This form of adverb is justified by the comparative sense of 'malint.'

l. 13. *Obscuratum iri arbitrantur*, 'They think that their base conduct will be concealed.'

l. 16. *Ubi invenias*. The subjunctive is used here because the subject is indefinite, 'where could one find?' Contrast the use with an actual subject just above 'ubi inveniemus,' and see Madvig, Lat. Gram. § 370.

l. 18. *Calamitatum societates*, 'Association in misfortunes.'

l. 20. *Ennius*, see note on De Sen. § 10. The line is an iambic senarius, but we do not know from what play it is taken. The commentators quote Euripides, Hecuba 1226—

ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ σαφέστατοι
φίλοι.

Note the alliteration.

1. 23. In bonis rebus, i.e. *their own* prosperity. In malis, i.e. *their friends'* adversity. Or as Seyffert puts it, 'si in bonis rebus *ὄντες* contemnunt aut in malis *ὄντας* deserunt' (sc. 'amicos').

1. 24. Utraque in re, 'In either condition,' i.e. 'sive in bonis rebus sive in malis.'

1. 29. Communem, like Gk. κοινός, 'lending a ready ear to all,' 'courteous,' 'affable.' Cf. Ad Fam. iv. 9. 2, where Pompeius is censured for not having been 'communis,' inasmuch as he refused to seek advice or to communicate his plans to others. Some texts read 'communem' instead of 'comem' in De Sen. § 59, with little difference in the sense.

1. 30. Qui rebus, &c., 'a man to be moved by the same feelings,' viz. as his friend.

1. 33. Qui natura consentit, 'who is naturally sympathetic.'

P. 59, l. 2. Inferendis - oblati. Note the chiasmus.

1. 12. Condimentum. Cf. De Sen. § 10, 'Comitate condita gravitas,' and De Or. i. 67. 271, 'Haec omnium sermonum condimenta sunt.'

1. 13. Tristitia, &c., 'But sternness and habitual seriousness do indeed bring with them dignity; but friendship requires to be more unrestrained, more free, more pleasant, and more prone to all forms of courtesy and friendly intercourse.' 'In omni re' qualifies 'severitas,' cf. § 20, 'cum benevolentia et caritate consensio.' For the redundant 'illa,' see note on De Sen. § 65, 'non illius quidem iustae.'

§§ 67-68. *Old friends are better than new.*

1. 19. Vetulis. The diminutive form expresses a certain amount of contempt.

1. 20. Indigna homine dubitatio! In apposition to the preceding clause. Cf. § 71, 'odiosum sane genus' and § 79, 'rarum genus.'

1. 21. Satietates. Cicero is fond of using the plural of abstract substantives when they have a plural genitive depending upon them. Cf. § 64, 'calamitatum societates,' and infra § 68, 'novitates,' sc. 'amicitiarum.'

Veterrima quaeque, &c. Lahmeyer quotes Ecclesiasticus ix. 10, 'Forsake not an old friend; for the new is not comparable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is old, thou shalt drink it with pleasure.'

1. 22. Ea vina. All wines will not stand keeping. Cf. De Sen. § 65, 'ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas matura vetustate coaescit.'

1. 23. Multos modios salis, for the proverb cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. viii.

3. 8, ἐτι δὲ προσδεῖται χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους πρὶν τοὺς λεγόμενους ἅλα συναλῶσαι. Cf. also Eth. Eud. vii. 2, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνευ πείρας οὐδὲ μᾶς ἡμέρας ὁ φίλος, ἀλλὰ χρόνου δεῖ· διὸ εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἄλλων.

l. 24. *Novitates*, see note on 'satiates,' l. 21 above.

l. 25. *Spem adferunt*, ut. 'Spem' is used absolutely here. The sentence beginning with 'ut' does not depend on 'spem,' which would require acc. and infin. 'Ut' then introduces a consequence as in § 50, 'verum esse ut,' where see note.

Herbis, the green shoots of the corn. De Sen. § 50, 'herbescentem viriditatem.' Cf. Ovid. Her. xvii. 263, 'Sed nimium properas et adhuc tua messis in herba est.'

Fallacibus. Cf. Tibullus ii. 1. 19, 'Et seges eludit messem fallacibus herbis.'

l. 26. *Fructus adpareat*, sc. 'futurus.'

Illae quidem. See note on *illa quidem*, § 66.

l. 27. *Vetustatis et consuetudinis*. 'Vetustas' here = 'vetustas amicitiae,' as in § 74, 'iure vetustatis.' Lahmeyer quotes Cic. Ad Fam. xi. 16. 2, 'Magna vetustas, magna consuetudo intercedit.'

l. 29. *Quo consuevit*, sc. 'uti.'

§§ 69-76. *An important point in friendship is that the superior must make himself the equal of the inferior; and give his friends a share in the advantages which his own excellence brings. So too the inferior must not repine at his inferiority, but must to a certain extent exalt himself above it. In conferring benefits on a friend we must consider not only how much we can afford to give, but how much our friend from his character and position is able to bear. A man's true friendships are those of his mature years, not those of his boyhood. We must never let affection for our friends stand in the way of their true interests.*

P. 60, l. 1. *Maximum est*, 'It is very important.' Cf. § 45, 'Caput est.'

Parem esse, indefinite subject. Cf. note on § 59, 'esset osurus.'

l. 2. *Excellentiae*, abstract noun in the plural, here = 'instances of superiority.'

l. 3. *Ut ita dicam*, would hardly be translated in English. It is used here to soften the somewhat uncommon use of 'grex,' which is applied generally to the followers of a philosophic school. Cf. Hor. Epp. i. 4. 16, 'Epicuri de grege porcus.'

Philo. See on § 14.

l. 4. *Rupillio*. See on § 37.

Mummio. Sp. Mummius, brother of L. Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth, was an intimate friend of Scipio. (Cf. De Re Publ. i. 12. 18, 'Spurium Mummium, quem in primis diligebat,' sc. Scipio.) Unlike his brother he was a violent aristocrat. He is one of the speakers in the De Re Publ.

l. 5. *Maximum*. Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, eldest son of L. Aemilius Paulus and brother of Scipio Africanus minor. He was

adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus (see note on De Sen. § 30), Praetor B.C. 149, Consul B.C. 145. He was a friend and patron of the historian Polybius who records the affection that existed between him and Scipio. Scipio gave up to him his share in the inheritance of their father Aemilius. Cf. Paradoxa 48.

Egregium virum omnino, 'an admirable man *it is true*.' Cf. note on 'omnino,' De Sen. § 45.

l. 7. **Suosque omnis**. Cf. § 11, 'Quid dicam de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnis?'

l. 13. **Fabulis**. Not 'stage-plays' here, but 'stories,' e.g. that of Romulus and Remus.

l. 14. **Famulatus**, not so harsh a word as 'servitus.' It suggests a friendly patriarchal relation between the head of the family and his dependants.

l. 21. **Coniunctionisque**. This is the natural 'friendship which exists between relatives. Cf. § 19, 'cum his amicitiam natura ipsa peperit.'

l. 27. **Queant**. In good prose *queo* is rarely found without a negative. We have another example in De Sen. § 32, 'sed tamen hoc queo dicere.'

Odiosum sane genus. See note on § 67, 'indigna dubitatio.'

l. 31. **Inferiores extollere**. 'Inferiores' is the *accusative* after 'extollere.' The construction is 'sic ii, qui superiores sunt, debent eos, qui inferiores sunt, extollere'; not 'sic debent se extollere inferiores.'

l. 32. **Ipsi**. We should expect 'ipsos,' for the sense is, 'when they think that they themselves (as opposed to their friendship) are looked down upon.' See Madvig, Lat. Gr. 487 b.

P. 61, l. 3 sqq. **Possis—diligas—adiuves—possis**. In all these cases the subjunctive is owing to the indefinite use of the second person singular. See note on § 64, 'invenias,' and Madvig, L.G. § 370. Note that Cicero avoids the awkwardness of placing in contraposition two verbs, one in the subjunctive and one in the indicative, by omitting 'potest' in the sentence 'quantum potest sustinere,' and by an anacoluthon in the next sentence, where 'neque' is followed by 'ut.'

l. 6. **P. Rupilius**. See note on § 37. Publius was consul in B.C. 132. Lucius failed in his candidature in B.C. 131. Publius is said by Pliny to have died on hearing the news of his brother's defeat.

Potuit—non potuit. See note on § 19, 'non potest.'

l. 9. **Amicitiae, &c.**, 'we must form our judgments concerning friendships when the mind and life have gained strength and stability.' We must wait until maturity before we decide what manner of man will be suited for our friendship. Youthful judgments cannot be trusted.

l. 12. **Habere.** Anacoluthon. The infinitive is used as though 'iudicandae sunt' had been 'iudicare oportet.'

l. 13. **Paedagogi.** Slaves whose duty it was to attend at all times on their master's children, to accompany them to school, and in their walks, and generally to supervise their moral training.

Vetustatis. See note on § 68, 'vetustas.'

l. 15. **Alio quodam modo.** Cf. § 7, 'Te autem alio quodam modo,' &c., and note.

l. 16. **Disparēs enim mores, &c.** It is difficult to decide what the construction of this sentence is. Nauck and Lahmeyer make 'mores' the nominative and 'studia' the accusative. 'Different characters follow different pursuits.' Reid makes 'studia' nominative and 'mores' accusative. 'Diversity of character is accompanied by diversity of taste.' Perhaps the best way is to take both 'mores' and 'studia' as nominatives. 'A change in character and tastes ensues.'

l. 23. **Fabulas.** See note on § 70.

l. 24. **Neoptolemus,** son of Achilles and Deidamia the daughter of Lycomedes king of Scyros. He lived at his grandfather's court until he was fetched thence by Odysseus in obedience to the prophecy, which declared that Troy could not be taken without the help of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes.

l. 25. **Impedientem,** 'when he tried to hinder.' Cf. De Sen. § 11, 'dividenti,' and *ibid.* § 54, 'lenientem.'

l. 28. **Mollisque.** 'The *que* merely connects 'infirmus' with 'mollis,' and does not correspond with the first 'et.' [In Cicero and the best writers *et* and *que* do not correspond.] To show this translate 'is not only weak and effeminate but also —.' [Reid.]

Ferat, virtual *oratio obliqua*, 'because, as he says, he cannot.' The subjunctive is used because the sentence gives the *alleged* reason.

l. 29. **Atque,** 'and so,' sums up the conclusion of the last few sections.

§§ 76-81. *To turn to the commoner sort of friendships: faults on one side or the other often make it necessary that a friendship should be broken off. This should be done gradually and gently if possible. If a change of views makes a rupture inevitable, we must take care that our friendship does not change into an open enmity. We may avoid all danger of this by care in selecting our friends. But most men err in choosing their friends for the advantage that can be got from them, whereas a friend should be loved for his own sake alone. Even beasts set us an example in this matter.*

l. 32. **In amicitia dimittendis,** 'consisting in breaking of friendships.'

P. 63, l. 1. Delabitur, 'sinks to.' Cf. § 100, 'ad levis amicitias defluxit oratio.'

l. 3. Quorum tamen = 'ita tamen, ut eorum' (sc. 'vitorum').

l. 4. Usus, 'familiarity.' Cf. § 29, 'usu coniuncti.'

Ut Catonem, &c., 'as I have heard that Cato used to say'; *not* 'as I heard Cato say,' which would be in Latin 'Catonem audiivi dicentem.'

l. 10. In rei publicae partibus, 'on a question of political parties,' i. e. when a change of opinion causes a man to abandon his friend's party.

l. 15. Q. Pompeii. Q. Pompeius Nepos, a man of humble origin ('humili atque obscuro loco natus' In Verr. v. 70, 181), raised himself to the consulship in B.C. 141, defeating Laelius, whom he had thrown off his guard, by promising Scipio that he would not stand himself, but give his support to Laelius. During his consulship he had as his province Hither Spain, where he showed himself a most incapable general. To cover his want of success, he made a dishonourable treaty with the Numantines, which he afterwards shamelessly disowned at Rome.

Meo nomine, 'on my account.'

l. 17. Metello. Quintus Caecilius Metellus, surnamed Macedonicus for his victory over Andiscus, pretender to the throne of Macedonia (B.C. 148). He was consul B.C. 143, and commanded against Viriathus in Spain. He was the leader of the party among the aristocracy that was opposed to Scipio. He was a member of the college of augurs and consequently 'collega' of Laelius and Scaevola.

l. 18. Auctoritate—non acerba. This is the MS. reading, which is very hard. Various emendations for 'auctoritate' have been proposed, such as 'ac temperate' or 'ac moderate.' If we keep the common reading we may perhaps translate, 'making his influence and his displeasure felt without any bitterness.'

l. 21. Ut extinctae, &c., 'that the friendships may seem to have died out rather than to have been extinguished.' Cf. De Sen. § 71, 'adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur; senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur.'

l. 27. Omnino, 'to sum up.'

l. 28. Cautio—provisio. The termination gives the idea of 'opportunity' or 'possibility.' Cf. the use of Greek Verbal Nouns in -σις. Translate 'one method of avoiding and guarding against.'

l. 30. Rarum genus. See note on § 67, 'indigna homine dubitatio.'

l. 31. Praeclara rara. *Est* and *sunt* are commonly omitted in short pithy sayings, proverbs, &c. Cf. Madvig L. G. § 479 a.

P. 63, l. 10. Alter idem. Cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. ix. 4. 5, 'ἔστι γὰρ δὲ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός.'

§§ 82-85. *Respect for our friend must prevent us asking services from him, which we should consider it dishonourable in ourselves to render. Friends should be partners in virtue not accomplices in vice. Virtue is essential to a true and happy friendship. Therefore we should judge a man's character before we make him our friend: to discover afterwards that he is not suited to us, leads to the unpleasantness of a sudden interruption of our friendship.*

l. 20. *Talem*. I do not think there is any reference to the theory that friendship is based on want of resemblance. The last sentence of this section gives the clue to the meaning of the whole. Respect for our friends should prevent us from asking favours from them, which we ourselves should shrink from granting at the request of others.

Non possunt. Used of moral impossibility as in § 24, 'quod facere ipsi non possent.'

l. 21. *Par est*, 'It is reasonable.'

l. 29. *Inter se* = 'alter alterum,' 'each other.' It stands as the Latin equivalent for any case of ἀλλήλους.

P. 64, l. 6. *Expetenda*. See note on § 46.

l. 10. *Ullam*, 'any other.' See note on § 31, 'commodi alicuius.'

l. 14. *Cum iudicaris*, &c. Imitated from Theophrastus 'περὶ φιλίας,' a treatise from which, according to Aulus Gellius, Cicero largely borrowed. Cf. Plutarch *Am. Frat.* p. 482 c, 'τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, ὡς ἐλεγε Θεοφράστος, οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν.'

l. 16. *Neglegentia*, ablative of cause, 'We are punished for our neglect.'

Pleotimur. This verb is only used in the passive in classical Latin.

l. 17. *Acta agimus*, 'we are doing what is done,' 'we are wise too late,' i.e. we are vainly trying to alter what has already passed beyond our control. Donatus, on Terence, *Adelphi* ii. 2. 24, says that the expression is borrowed from the law-courts:—'a iudiciis, ubi, quod semel iudicatum est, frustra iterum agitur.' Cf. Cic. *ad Attic.* ix. 18. 3, 'Tu, malum! inquires, actum ne agas.'

l. 18. *Utro et citro*, 'mutually.' Cf. *De Offic.* i. 17. 56, 'Beneficii ultro et citro datis acceptisque.'

§§ 86-88. *It is strange that men should be so careless in choosing friends, because all are agreed on the value of friendship. Even the misanthrope must have a companion on whom to vent his ill-humour. The most complete luxury would give no pleasure to a man cut off from all society with his fellow-men. Nature abhors solitude.*

l. 22. *Una*, 'the one thing' by attraction for 'unum.' See note on *De Sen.* § 35.

l. 24. *Venditatio*, 'display,' a word used to express the puffing of

his wares by a tradesman, and hence an attempt to make a thing appear better than it is.

l. 26. *Tenuis victus cultusque*, 'Plain fare and plain living.' 'Cultus' includes all the outward refinements of civilized life, comforts, luxuries, &c.

Honores, 'Political distinction.' See note on De Sen. § 22.

l. 31. *Et ii—delectantur*, 'Both those who have devoted themselves to politics, and those who take pleasure in a scientific investigation of the universe.' 'Cognitione doctrinaque' ἐν δὲ δυνάμει. 'Rerum' goes only with 'cognitione'; it is equivalent here to 'omnium rerum,' as in the phrase 'Rerum natura.'

l. 32. *Suum negotium* instead of 'negotium suum' to point the contrast with *public* business. See note on § 13, 'nostrorum.'

l. 33. *Otiosi*, as frequently in Cicero, implies freedom from *public* duties only. See note on § 16, 'Sumus otiosi.'

P. 65, l. 1. *Nullam*. Cf. De Or. ii. 5. 20, 'ut sine his studiis vitam nullam esse ducamus.' It expresses the opposite idea to the 'vita vitalis' of § 22.

l. 2. *Liberaliter*, 'as a free man ought.'

Serpit. Cf. § 41, 'Serpit deinde res.'

l. 6. *Timonem*. He was a contemporary of Alcibiades, who was the only man whose society he is said to have been able to endure. He is well known to us from Shakespeare's play.

Nescio quem. This is generally interpreted as indicating the insignificance of Timon; but Mr. Reid points out that Cicero often inserts *quidam, nescio quis* and the like, when it is necessary, in mentioning some Greek, to avoid the appearance of too great a familiarity with Greek literature and Greek history. Cf. 'ut opinor' in l. 16.

l. 8. *Evomat*. Cf. Pro Milone 29. 78, 'Non timeo, iudices, ne odio meorum inimicitarum inflammatus libentius haec in illum evomere videar quam verius.'

l. 13. *Ferreus—ferre—auferret*. Observe the marked alliteration, and cf. De Sen. § 38, 'Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit.'

l. 15. *Quod a Tarentino, &c.*, 'which, I have been told, our old men quote as a customary saying, I think, of the Tarentine Archytas, they having heard it from other old men.'

l. 16. *Archyta*. For an account of Archytas, see note on De Sen. § 39, where a similar saying of his is quoted as having been handed down by tradition.

Ut opinor. See note on 'nescio quem,' l. 6.

Commemorare audiui. See note on § 76, 'Catonem dicere audiui.'

l. 19. *Illam admirationem*—'illarum rerum admirationem.' Cf. § 3, 'eam ipsam mentionem.'

l. 20. *Aliquem*, 'some one.'

§§ 88-96. Yet we are deaf to nature's voice and are ready to let any slight disagreement break up a friendship. Especially are we prone to resent reproof and counsel, which it is a true friend's duty to give, and which we ought gladly to receive if it is given without bitterness. He who refuses to hear the truth is in a parlous state. On the other hand flattery is the greatest curse of friendship; for it implies untruthfulness, which is incompatible with the frank simplicity of mind necessary in friendship: for what could be more untrustworthy than the mind of a flatterer? Influential men cause especial mischief, when they condescend to play a flatterer's part. Still a genuine friend may with care be distinguished from a false flatterer. Even a public meeting will note the difference, as happened, for example, in the case of C. Papirius Carbo and C. Licinius Crassus.

l. 24. *Obsurdescimus*, 'Still somehow or other we shut our ears against her.'

l. 25. *Est enim varius, &c.*, 'For intercourse in friendship is diverse and manifold and thus many grounds for suspicions and offences are afforded, which a wise man will sometimes avoid, sometimes make light of, sometimes endure. But this one source of offence we must put up with, in order that mutual advantage and good faith may be preserved in friendship: our friends must be often advised and reprov'd, and we must receive such reproof in a friendly spirit, when it is given with good intentions.'

l. 32. *Familiaris meus*. P. Terentius Afer, the great comic dramatist, was an intimate friend of Scipio and Laelius, who were accused in the gossip of the day, of being the authors of the comedies which were published under Terence's name.

l. 33. *Obsequium, &c.*, from the *Andria* of Terence, i. 1. 41.

P. 66, l. 1. *Molesta veritas—obsequium molestius*. Chiasmus.

l. 2. *Venenum amicitiae*, 'the bane of friendship.' This metaphorical use of 'venenum' is especially frequent in Livy, cf. iii. 67. 6, 'discordia ordinum est venenum urbis huius.'

l. 3. *Præcipitem—sinit*, 'he allows his friend to go headlong to his undoing.'

l. 4. *In fraudem*, 'into ruin,' as in the phrase 'se (or sine) fraude,' 'without detriment.'

l. 8. *Terentiano verbo*, 'Terence's word' does not imply, as Quintilian declares, that Cicero thought that 'obsequium' was a word first used by Terence. Cf. Quint. viii. 3. 35, 'Cicero putat a Terentio primum dictum esse obsequium.'

Adsentatio. The meaning of the word is well conveyed in the line of Terence quoted below—

'Negat quis, nego: ait, aio.'

1. 9. **Non modo** = 'non modo non,' or, to speak more correctly, the negative is reserved for the principal clause of the sentence.

1. 11. **Ouius autem, &c.** Cf. Hesiod, Works and Days, 293—

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ,
ἰσθλὸς δ' αὖ κάκεινος δὲ εὖ εἰπόντι πίθῃται.
δὲ δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοήῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλλῃται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

1. 12. **Ut—nequeat**, 'That he cannot bring himself to hear the truth from a friend.' For *nequeat* see note on § 82, 'non possunt.'

1. 13. **Scitum, &c.**, 'That was a shrewd remark of Cato's.'

1. 19. **Quod contra**, 'Whereas, on the other hand.' See note on De Sen. § 84, 'Quod contra decuit ab illo meum.'

1. 22. **Libere**, 'openly, without reserve,' in Gk. *μετὰ παρησίας*.

1. 24. **Pestem**. Cf. De Sen. § 39, 'Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam.'

1. 25. **Quam vis enim multis, &c.**, 'For under all names, no matter how many, this vice of fickle and untrustworthy men, who speak always with a view to their hearer's pleasure, not the truth, must be branded with disgrace.'

1. 28. **Iudicium veri**, 'our ability to judge of the truth.'

1. 29. **Idque, sc.** 'verum.'

1. 30. **Valere non potest**, 'loses its signification,' i.e. If truth be absent, the relationship which is left can no longer justly be called friendship. Cf. § 19, 'sublata enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur.'

1. 32. **Quoque**, from 'quisque,' to be taken closely with 'uno.'

P. 67, l. 4. **Negat quis, &c.** These lines are from the Eunuchus of Terence, ii. 2. 21. Translate, 'Some one says no, I say no: he says yes, I say yes: in fact I have given myself injunctions to agree with him in all points.'

1. 6. **In Gnathonis persona**, 'In the character of Gnatho.' See note on 'persona,' § 4. Gnatho is the name of the parasite in the play. Cicero mentions him as a typical parasite: Phil. ii. 6. 16.

Quod amici genus, 'a kind of friend, which it is a mark of worthlessness to attach to oneself at all.'

1. 9. **Cum ad vanitatem**, 'When their insincerity is backed by the influence their position gives them.'

1. 10. **Secerni, &c.** Plutarch wrote a separate treatise on the question *πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου*.

1. 12. **Oontio**, 'a public meeting.'

1. 15. **Quibus blanditiis, &c.**, 'With what flattering speeches C. Papirius lately tried to win his way to the ears of a meeting.'

C. Papirius Carbo. See note on § 39.

1. 20. **Est in manibus**. See note on De Sen. § 12.

1. 22. **Q. Maximo**. See note on § 69. He was consul B.C. 145.

Et. The general rule is that when the 'praenōmina' of the consuls are given, the two names stand side by side without any conjunction: when the 'praenōmina' are not given, 'et' is generally inserted. The 'et' in this passage is rendered necessary by the insertion of 'fratre Scipionis' after 'Q. Maximo.'

l. 23. **L. Mancino.** L. Hostilius Mancinus commanded the fleet during the operations of Scipio against Carthage, B.C. 146. On his return to Rome after the fall of Carthage, he gained great popularity by exhibiting in the forum large pictures containing views of Carthage and the different assaults made upon it by the Romans.

C. Licinii Crassi. Crassus, as tribune of the people B.C. 145, brought forward a measure withdrawing from the priestly colleges the right of filling up their own vacancies ('co-optatio'). The bill was defeated chiefly through the exertions of Laelius who was their praetor.

l. 25. **Transferebatur,** 'an attempt was made to transfer.'

Atque is primus, &c., 'He first adopted the custom of addressing the people with his face turned towards the forum.' Before his time orators when speaking from the *rostra* had been accustomed to face the *curia* and *comitium*, where the magistrates and senate had their seats. According to Plutarch, this innovation was introduced by C. Gracchus, but Varro (*De Re Rust.* i. 2) agrees with Cicero in assigning it to Crassus. For the topography of the forum, see Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, art. *Roma*, pp. 775 sqq.

l. 26. **Vendibilem,** 'specious,' 'attractive,' lit. 'saleable.'

l. 29. **Re magis, quam summa auctoritate,** 'By its own merits rather than by the influence of the highest official position.' Laelius was not yet consul and consequently did not possess '*summa auctoritas*.'

§§ 97-100. *It follows therefore that those who are deceived by flattery have themselves to blame. The vain man makes the parasite as a rule, though there are flatterers so skilful as to ensnare even men of worth. We ought to take every precaution so as not to be ensnared by them.*

l. 31. **In scaena, id est in oentione,** 'On the stage, for a public meeting is nothing else.' 'Id est' = 'id est enim.' Cf. *De Fin.* i. 10. 33, 'Simili sunt in culpa, qui officia deserunt mollitia animi, id est laborum et dolorum fuga,' = 'for this shrinking from toil and pain deserves no other name.'

In qua. The antecedent is 'scaena.'

l. 32. **Adumbratis,** 'sketched in outline,' and so 'vague,' 'indefinite.'

Loco plurimum, 'the widest scope.'

P. 68, l. 1. Tota, nominative, not ablative.

Ut dicitur points to the proverbial character of the expression 'apertum pectus.' Cf. § 101, 'ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire.'

l. 4. **Quamquam,** 'and yet' = *καίτοι*.

- l. 8. *Omnino*, 'No doubt.' Cf. *De Sen.* § 28, and above § 69.
- l. 10. *Virtutis opinione*, 'supposed virtue.' The words have quite a different sense in § 37.
- l. 14. *Vanam*, 'lying.' *Laudum*, 'merits.'
- Nulla est.* Cf. § 86, '*Vitam esse nullam.*'
- l. 17. *Milites gloriosi*, 'braggart soldiers,' such as the one who has given the title *Miles Gloriosus* to Plautus' comedy.
- l. 18. *Magnas vero, &c.*, supply '*dicit se.*' The line is taken from Terence, *Eunuchus* iii. 1. 1. The speaker is Thraso, a '*miles gloriosus*,' who is enquiring from his parasite Gnatho how Thais had received a present that he had sent her.
- l. 27. *Nec facillime*, here = '*difficillime*' by the figure called *litotes*.
- l. 29. *Det manus*, 'surrenders' a metaphor from the practice of gladiators who held up their hands in token that they acknowledged themselves vanquished.
- l. 30. *Plus vidiſſe*, 'to have seen further,' 'to have had a clearer insight into the matter.'
- l. 32. *Ut me, &c.* Lines from a comedy of Caecilius, as we learn from *De Sen.* § 36, where see note. Some texts read '*ut in Epiclero*' after '*cavendum est.*' *Ἐπίκληρος* (the Heiress) was the title of a comedy of Menander imitated by Caecilius.
- l. 33. *Inlusseris.* Quintilian, i. 7. 20. says that it was customary to double *s* after a long vowel before Cicero's time.
- P. 69, l. 4. *In hominem cadere*, 'to fall in a man's way,' 'to come within his reach.' Cf. § 48, '*si cadit in sapientem animi dolor.*'
- l. 5. *Defluxit.* Cf. § 76, '*delabitur.*'
- l. 6. *Eaque ipsa*, 'and let us bring even them to a conclusion at last.'

§§ 100-104. *To recapitulate, virtue, not self-interest, is the only bond of true friendship. Such were the friendships I have enjoyed all through my life, in my youth with distinguished men older than myself, then with Scipio and others my contemporaries, and in my old age with you younger men. The greatest blessing of my life has been my friendship with Scipio: it is the recollection of its delights that alone makes it possible for me to live out the remnant of my solitary life. Therefore I exhort you to value virtue before all things and friendship next.*

l. 8. *Conciliat et conservat.* Cf. § 20, '*ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet.*'

Convenientia rerum = 'harmony in all things.' See note on § 23, '*rerum natura.*'

l. 15. *Quaesita* goes only with '*utilitate.*' 'Not from any sense of need, but without seeking for any advantage.'

l. 17. *L. Paulum, &c.* For Paulus see *De Sen.* § 15; Cato,

Introduction; Galus, De Sen. § 49. Nasica; this is P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, for whom see note on De Sen. § 50, 'huius P. Scipionis.' He was the father of P. Scipio Nasica Serapio, the assassin of Tiberius Gracchus. See note on § 41, 'quid in P. Scipione effecerint.'

l. 18. **Ti. Gracchum.** This is Tiberius Gracchus the elder, father of Tiberius and Gaius the famous tribunes. He was son-in-law of Africanus major, and father-in-law of Africanus minor. He fought with great success against the Celtiberi as praetor in 179 B.C., and his administration of the province won for him in a marked degree the affection and regard of the Spaniards. He was consul in 177, censor in 169 B.C.

l. 20. **L. Furium, P. Rupilius, Sp. Mummius.** All these three are mentioned together as members of the Scipionic circle in § 69.

l. 22. **Q. Tiberonius.** See note on § 37.

P. Rutilius. P. Rutilius Rufus served under Scipio in the Numantine War, was praetor B.C. 111, and consul B.C. 105. In 95 he accompanied Q. Mucius Scaevola to his province of Asia, which, on Scaevola's departure, passed into his hands. His government was marked by such integrity and firmness that he incurred the hatred of the publicani, who, on his return to Rome procured his condemnation on an entirely false charge of extortion. He retired to Smyrna where he passed the remainder of his life.

l. 23. **A. Verginius.** Nothing is known of him, except that Pomponius mentions him in company with Rutilius as a pupil of Q. Mucius Scaevola.

l. 26. **Carceribus—calceem.** Cf. De Sen. § 83, 'nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari,' and see note.

P. 70, l. 1. In manibus: not quite in the same sense as in § 96. Here it is almost equivalent to the English 'under my own eye.'

l. 2. **Animo aut spe suscipiet,** 'will purpose or hope to accomplish.'

l. 9. **Quod quidem senserim,** 'at least, as far I could observe.'

l. 14. **Otiosum.** Cf. note on *otiosi*, § 16.

l. 19. **Aetas ipsa,** 'The mere fact of my great age,' which makes it impossible that I can live much longer.

l. 22. **Haec habui, &c.** Cf. the close of the De Sen., 'Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem.'

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